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**PERSONA, PRINT, AND PROPAGANDA: ORLANDO DI LASSO AND
CONSTRUCTIONS OF SELF IN COUNTER-REFORMATION
BAVARIA**

Tara Leigh Jordan
University of Tennessee, tjorda13@vols.utk.edu

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**PERSONA, PRINT, AND PROPAGANDA:
ORLANDO DI LASSO AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF
SELF IN COUNTER-REFORMATION BAVARIA**

A Thesis Presented for the
Master of Music
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Tara Leigh Jordan
May 2019

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ABSTRACT

Musicians often regard Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594) as Giovanni de Palestrina's lesser-known, northern contemporary, with Palestrina standing as the pinnacle of Counter-Reformation sacred music in the current musicological canon. However, this conception of Lasso does not align with his reputation during his own time, where he stood as the most popular and cosmopolitan composer in Europe. In order to cultivate this reputation, Lasso exercised personal agency over his image as represented within his compositions and print publications, fashioning himself into a versatile and widely appealing musician that composed in every genre of both sacred and secular music. However, Lasso simultaneously presented himself as a pious, Catholic composer to his patrons, the Bavarian Wittelsbach dukes Albrecht and Wilhelm V, who led the Counter-Reformation in German-speaking lands. In this way, Lasso presents a divided sense of his own selfhood.

The duality of Orlando di Lasso's sense of self demonstrates the crystallization of early modern conceptions of selfhood during the Renaissance era as detailed by scholars Susan McClary and Stephen Greenblatt. They argue that, while modern selfhood cemented itself in the seventeenth century, artists of the sixteenth century reflected the transition into this modern conception, often creating ambivalent or conflicted senses of themselves. In my work, I argue that Lasso exemplifies these trends of self-fashioning through his lifelong cultivation of the dual personas described above.

While studies of Lasso's selfhood specifically do not exist, I draw from scholarship of William Byrd as a model for my own study and use a wide array of interdisciplinary scholarship from literary studies, religious studies, and history in addition to musicological work. I defend my argument through an examination of Lasso's control of his prints, surrounding print culture, his personal and professional relationships, and an analysis of specific musical works including *Missa pro defunctis*, *Locutus in sum lingua mea*, *Anna, mihi dilecta*, and *Fertur in conviviiis*.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Musicians often regard Orlando di Lasso as Giovanni de Palestrina's lesser-known, northern contemporary, with Palestrina standing as the pinnacle of Counter-Reformation sacred music in the current musicological canon. Because of this idea, Lasso remains understudied in musicological research, particularly in English.¹ Music scholars, theorists and musicologists alike, often view his works in isolation from their surroundings, discounting the socio-religious and political aspects that influenced the composer throughout his lifetime. However, this misconception of Lasso does not align with his reputation during his own time, when he stood as the most popular, most printed, and most cosmopolitan composer in Western Europe.² He held connections with musicians in France and Antwerp, as well as extensive Roman contacts, and curated his reputation through his publications. Lasso also worked at the most important Catholic court outside of Rome, the Wittelsbach court of Bavaria, where he balanced his reputation and construction of his image with the theological concerns of the Bavarian Counter-Reformation.

The extensive cultural changes of the Renaissance created unique circumstances for people's formation of their own individuality and selfhood. Within the medieval era, human life had centered around institutions and communities, with very little focus on the

¹ Many landmark works on Lasso exist exclusively in French or German, such as compilations by Wolfgang Boetticher and the comprehensive biographical volume published by Annie Couerdevey. For these works, see Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, I. Monographie* (Kassel: Barenreither, 1958) and Annie Coeurdevey, *Roland de Lassus* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).

² James Haar, "Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate Van Orden (New York: Garland, 2000), 137.

individual.³ However, as Renaissance humanism began to emerge, it “brought an end to the communal character of medieval society” and gave way to the rise of the individual.⁴ Despite this seemingly clean-cut delineation, scholars Charles Park and Jerry Bentley argue that selfhood studies “which assume a linear development of individualism and individual subjectivity . . . can no longer be sustained;” instead, a unique situation arose in the Renaissance, in which individualism and communal values “created and re-created one another in the major structures, interactions, and transitions of early modern times.”⁵ In other words, the individual and the institution consistently reworked and relied upon one another during this time of transition. This interaction was particularly apparent among musicians, who began to formulate their own styles as individuals while also working within the strict, institutional restraints of the patronage system.

Orlando di Lasso’s sense of self as a multitalented composer began in his early years as a musician. In his youth, he worked in Franco-Flemish lands before traveling to Italy, where he worked in the Gonzaga court of Mantua; subsequently, he secured a position as the *maestro di capella* at S Giovanni in Laterano in Rome (1553).⁶ He then returned northward due to his ailing parents, visiting France, England, and Antwerp, where he began his print career by publishing a collection featuring Italian madrigals, French chansons, and motets in 1555, entitled *Le quatoirsiesme livre a quatre parties contenant dixhuyc chansons italiennes, six chansons francoises, & six motetz faictz (a la*

³ Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley, *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 1-4.

⁴ Ibid., 1.

⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁶ James Haar, “Lassus [Orlando di Lasso], Orlande [Roland] de,” *Grove Music Online* (2001). <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.utk.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.6002278212>.

nouvelle composition d-aucuns d'Italie).⁷ This publication highlighted Lasso's flexibility and skill; scholar James Haar argues that Lasso's release of this compiled volume "looks as if Lasso meant to advertise his versatility, proudly displaying his wares for buyers and for putative patrons . . . the young Lasso already had a shrewd sense of self-promotion."⁸ He soon secured a singing position in Munich under Duke Albrecht V, who likely desired to employ the composer due to his status as a Catholic musician that previously worked in an important Roman church; his record of published works likely would have appealed to the Duke as well. Lasso remained employed at the Wittelsbach court until his death in 1594, after his promotion to *Kapellmeister*.

It was in Munich that Lasso cultivated his dual self-image. Due to the demands of his Bavarian patrons, he adopted the persona of a pious, Counter-Reformation Catholic in addition to a versatile composer and commercially oriented musical businessman.

Albrecht V, and later his son Wilhelm V, led the Counter-Reformation campaign in the region through a series of reforms that required the participation of members of their court. Musical censorship took a key role in these reforms, as detailed by Alexander Fisher, and the Bavarian state banned music widely, including both Protestant and "inappropriate" Catholic music.⁹ Lasso's approved compositions provided an alternative to these banned works.

⁷ Haar, "Lassus, Orlande de." Musicologists often refer to this volume as Lasso's "Opus 1;" importantly, it includes a variety of Italian songs ["chansons italiennes"], French chansons ["chansons françoises"], and motets in the Italian style ["motetz faictz (a la nouvelle composition d-aucuns d'Italie)]. From Kristine Forney, "Orlando Di Lasso's 'Opus 1': The Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 39/40 (1985): 33-60.

⁸ Haar, "Orlando di Lasso," 131.

⁹ Alexander Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Meanwhile, Lasso's stylistic marketability allowed the composer to appeal to audiences throughout Europe. Haar claims that, by the time of the composer's death, "half of all the music prints in the second half of the sixteenth century contained work by Lasso."¹⁰ While Lasso wrote most of his works for his Bavarian patrons, their musical needs did not limit his compositional techniques; during his time in Munich, he wrote a vast amount of music in all genres, including masses and motets as well as madrigals and chansons. Unlike Palestrina, his works span the full gamut of the Renaissance musical tradition; he composed in the highly conservative style preferred by the Catholic Church and in the innovative mannerist style, which featured chromaticism and distortion of accepted musical elements.¹¹ Lasso cultivated his own reputation as the most important composer of the era through this stylistic variation, as well as through print publications and his connections to religious and state leaders in France, Rome, and the Holy Roman Empire; at the same time, he steadfastly remained under the employment of the Wittelsbach family, composing works for their Counter-Reformation propaganda effort.

Though his stature decreased after his death, during his lifetime, Orlando di Lasso nurtured a status as a respected and versatile composer through his careful management of his music in print and his diplomatic relationships with religious and secular leaders throughout Europe. His cosmopolitanism, widely published pieces, and employment within the pro-Catholic Bavarian court rendered Lasso and his music the perfect candidate for the propaganda campaign of his patrons, Albrecht and Wilhelm V, in

¹⁰ Haar, "Orlando di Lasso," 126.

¹¹ For further discussion of the composer's mannerism see William Mahrt, "Lasso as Mannerist," *Sacred Music* 134, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 40-44.

consultation with church officials in Bavaria and Rome. Lasso allowed his patrons to employ his music in this way as a means of maintaining his livelihood and employment relationships, even while many of his actions and musical works reveal ambivalence and even resistance to the reforms of the post-Tridentine years, and instead exercised his personal agency over his image as represented in his musical publications across the continent. In this way, Orlando di Lasso exhibits a dual conception of self and exemplifies the dichotomy within the rising formation of selfhood and self-fashioning throughout the sixteenth century.

Scope and Parameters

To frame my argument, I take an interdisciplinary approach to Lasso studies, drawing from musicology and music theory, the religion and politics of the Bavarian court, corresponding scholarship pertaining to Jesuit influences, patronage, print culture, and ideas of Renaissance selfhood. This multivalent approach allows me to both analyze the composer and his music's role in post-Tridentine, Counter-Reformation propaganda from a unique perspective and consider the composer's conflicting sense of self in a century of upheaval and development. For the purposes of my research, I adopt Thomas Brady's definition of the Counter-Reformation, which he claims refers specifically to concerted efforts on behalf of the Catholic Church to combat the rise of Protestantism.¹²

¹² Thomas Brady, *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 291.

Accordingly, I analyze the related efforts within Bavaria, Lasso's primary place of residence for most of his life, in order to situate the composer within his surroundings.¹³

Within the scope of the Counter-Reformation, much of my research focuses on the reforms of the post-Tridentine years (ca. 1563-85), during which the Wittelsbach dukes, Albrecht and Wilhelm V, sought to align the Bavarian court more closely with Rome. Bavaria, though presently a region of southern Germany, existed during the Counter-Reformation as a largely independently governed state under the auspices of the Holy Roman Empire; Bavarian leaders acted generally without the oversight of the emperor. This self-governance was not unique to Bavaria, as many German-speaking lands formed states within the Empire, leading Brady to claim that the German transition from the medieval era into the modern nation-state emphasized "the multiplicity and autonomy of polities."¹⁴ Figure 1.1 displays Bavaria's position both within the Holy Roman Empire and continental Europe as a whole.

¹³ Brady does not provide a specific date range for the Counter-Reformation, but surveys of the movement often cite 1542, when the Catholic Inquisition was created, as its beginning. Due to the Church's ongoing efforts to combat heresy following the rise of Protestantism, a specific ending year is harder to identify, but it is often listed as the mid-seventeenth century.

¹⁴ Brady, *German Histories*, 6.



Figure 1.1: A map of the Holy Roman Empire and surrounding Europe ca. 1560. Bavaria is roughly in the center of the frame.¹⁵

¹⁵ William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1911), 118-19.

The Bavarian reforms were marked by censorship of printed works; the government sought to repress Protestant publications but acknowledged that the people needed alternatives to these banned books, leading to the creation of lists of approved, Catholic volumes.¹⁶ Musically, these reforms occurred through the promotion and composition of grander sacred music as well as a focus on controlling the musical soundscape of Bavaria, as seen similarly in the ducal control of non-music books: censorship of Protestant music and promotion of sanctioned Catholic hymns, psalms, and motets.¹⁷ Practically, these reforms meant that sacred music took center stage as a medium for spreading Catholic beliefs. Lasso's compositions for his ducal employers reflect their reforms, particularly in the sheer volume of sacred compositions spanning the innovative and conservative musical traditions, and he worked tirelessly to provide them with music for all religious occasions, including increased processions on Church feast days and performances at the large Jesuit college. Ignace Bossuyt notes that after Wilhelm V's ascension in 1579, Lasso's output shifted to overwhelmingly sacred rather than secular composition.¹⁸ Simultaneously, Lasso also worked to cultivate his own public image through his printed works, control of performances within Bavaria, and his wide range of musical styles, which showcased his versatility and cosmopolitanism as a composer including polychoral composition, vivid text painting and chromaticism, and parodies from a wide array of musical sources.

¹⁶ David Crook, "A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, no. 1 (2009): 1-78.

¹⁷ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 12-13.

¹⁸ Ignace Bossuyt, Eugeen Schruers, Annelies Wouters, Alamire Foundation, and International Colloquium on Orlando di Lasso, *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994* (Peer: Alamire Foundation, 1995), 19.

This thesis does not account for propaganda efforts using Lasso's work past the composer's death in 1594; for Lasso's interactions with various European courts, I study only the ways in which his music served as propaganda for the Bavarian court, where he resided from 1556 until his death. Lasso also interacted with the French and papal courts, but these interactions lie outside the scope of this thesis. The Bavarian propaganda effort often required Lasso to travel as a representative of the court, during which he could also accomplish some of his personal goals; therefore, his activities outside of Bavaria, such as his relationships and interactions with high clergymen in Rome, prove important to the Bavarian reforms. I also consider cultural influences beyond Bavaria, notably Roman religious life, where Lasso worked at the start of his career and with which the Bavarian court sought to ally themselves both culturally and religiously. Additionally, I examine his personal relationships outside of Bavaria, such as his relationships with French printers and leaders as well as printing officials in Vienna, as they relate to his self-fashioning.¹⁹

Due to the multifaceted nature of my argument, I examine a wide variety of pieces by Lasso, including both sacred and secular genres. An analysis of his motets, hymn settings, and masses allows for a study of grand liturgical works and more popular sacred pieces, which formed a key part of the Bavarian soundscape as detailed by Alexander Fisher (to be expanded upon later in this chapter).²⁰ Lasso's cultivation of published volumes, including volumes of chansons, madrigals, and the sacred genres

¹⁹ Specifically, Lasso maintained relationships with printers and political figures in France and elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, including in the city of Nuremberg.

²⁰ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 1-85.

noted above, illuminates Lasso's attempts to fashion his personal image throughout Europe, apart from the religious efforts of his patrons.

Methodology and Framing

My research encompasses a broad variety of interdisciplinary scholarship, including Stephen Greenblatt and Susan McClary's works on Renaissance self-fashioning within the sixteenth century. Before the advent of the early modern era, artists were thought of as servants for their patrons, who ultimately received the glory for the work.²¹ However, this conception began to shift in the sixteenth century, crystallizing in approximately 1600, when artists grew to be viewed as independent people and as the creators of their own achievements.²² Late-Renaissance ideas of selfhood represent the first of the modern era in western Europe, and showcase both new ideas of individualism and conceptions that situate the individual in relation to their superiors, creating a unique culture in which artists grappled with a sense of personal identity while serving their patrons. This dichotomy resulted in an ambivalent and "fundamentally unstable status of the Self."²³ McClary identifies Monteverdi as exemplary of these new ideals, but I argue that Lasso, as a sixteenth-century composer who also wrote in the madrigal tradition, displays them as well, prior to Monteverdi.

²¹ Until the late Baroque and early Classical eras, a musician's livelihood, if they worked as a career musician, came from a post within either a court or a church; the concept of freelance musicians did not exist. For more discussion of this idea see Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) and Mauro Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi's Staging of the Self* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012).

²² McClary, *Modal Subjectivities*, 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, 16.

McClary details this shifting notion within the Italian madrigal tradition, claiming that madrigals of the sixteenth century constitute the first appearance of “the explicit, self-conscious construction *in music* of subjectivities.”²⁴ Greenblatt expands upon similar ideas as they relate to artists more broadly, particularly their fashioning to the outside world, and states that

in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process . . . fashioning may suggest . . . a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving.²⁵

Lasso personifies these concerns; he controlled his public image through his print publications and performances and by presenting himself as a devout Catholic to his patrons, making himself integral to the Counter-Reformation culture that Bavaria presented to the outside world.

While studies of selfhood as manifested in Lasso’s music specifically do not exist, many scholars describe formations of identity in other composers of the era. For example, I consider William Byrd’s creation of himself in print by way of comparison to Lasso.²⁶ Alongside his peer Thomas Tallis, Byrd (ca. 1539-1623) also held a monopoly on musical printing in London and was therefore able to control his works in print in the same manner as Lasso, since he too could control his image in print. As a Catholic composer working in a Protestant court, Byrd composed for a religious tradition antithetical to his own. Because of this dichotomy, Byrd often used print as a way to

²⁴ McClary, *Modal Subjectivities*, 6.

²⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 2.

²⁶ This paragraph summarizes and relies upon Jeremy Smith, “Print Culture and the Elizabethan Composer,” *Fontes artis musicae* 48, no. 2 (2001): 156-72.

propagandize himself to the English public of both religions, using “high-art,” Protestant pieces to appeal to English religious institutions while also publishing small-scale, Catholic works to appeal to clandestine worshippers throughout the country. In a similar manner, Lasso’s pieces appealed to Protestants and Catholics alike, and his control of his printed works highlights his concern with his public persona. Further, Jeremy Smith claims that several composers, chiefly Byrd, cultivated “Lasso-like” print cultures for themselves, thus noting Lasso’s role within the industry while drawing parallels to other composers. For Byrd, this included self-propaganda as well as his volume of printed musical works.²⁷ Byrd also lived roughly contemporaneously with Lasso, rendering him an appropriate example for comparison while also demonstrating that, while perhaps not as precisely as Lasso, other composers were beginning to use print to cultivate their own selfhood.

As I explain more comprehensively in later chapters, Lasso used print culture outside of Bavaria to expand his reputation of versatility and cosmopolitanism, while he focused on his Counter-Reformation, devout persona within Bavaria. While Byrd’s control of print culture existed exclusively within England, through his monopoly of prints both in London and Oxford, he also used print to shape his image. As Smith describes,

the new conditions of print culture in Elizabethan England provided these select composers with a special chance to control their own propaganda and thereby enhance their social standing with their patrons and the public . . . like Lasso, Byrd sensibly used his authority to ensure that the products he brought out in print would only enhance his reputation.²⁸

²⁷ Smith, “Print Culture,” 158.

²⁸ Ibid., 164-67.

Furthermore, Byrd used print to enhance his religious beliefs, much as Lasso did with his Bavarian compositions and prints. In contrast to Lasso's attempt to use prints to appeal to Catholics and Protestants alike, Byrd presented a Protestant faith to the Protestant, Elizabethan court. At the same time, however, he used print to subvert this image and "explore how the press might be used to serve the illegal needs of his fellow recusant Catholics."²⁹ In this way, Byrd displays a dual sense of self in a similar manner to Lasso: one that follows the Protestant tenets of England and his employer, and one that, on the other hand, aimed to propagandize himself and enhance the Catholic faith in a place where it remained illegal. Importantly, the fact that both Byrd and Lasso developed this dual selfhood by means of print, despite no record of them ever meeting, indicates that this dual conception of self-fashioning for composers was present throughout Europe; Lasso, however, in my view, represents the most advanced example of this phenomenon. Additionally, both Lasso and Byrd's use of print in this way indicates that, for Renaissance composers, print represented not just an emerging technoculture, but also a form of personal reflection.

Throughout this thesis, I refer to Lasso as a "cosmopolitan" composer, rendering a discussion and definition of the term appropriate. In modern scholarship, "cosmopolitan" often assumes a postcolonial meaning that entails a sense of superiority on behalf of the cosmopolitan and often "works with nationalism rather than in opposition to it," thus rendering the term laden with issues of imperialism and racism.³⁰ Within Renaissance

²⁹ Smith, "Print Culture," 163.

³⁰ Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, ed., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 1-2. For a further discussion of modern

studies, however, cosmopolitanism does not connote these ideas, many of which formed during and after the Enlightenment era. Rather, with respect to early modern Europe, cosmopolitanism indicates more broadly “a citizen of the world,” as Margaret Jacob claims.³¹ Though at this time within Europe, “a citizen of the world” meant exclusively Western, Christian Europe, the term did not indicate an ethical reflection of Western society in the same way it does now. During the Renaissance, particularly during Lasso’s lifetime, this term indicated a well-traveled, stylistically flexible, and often multilingual person, who had “the ability to experience people of different nations [and] creeds . . . with pleasure, curiosity, and interest.”³² Jacob acknowledges problems with the term even during the sixteenth century, including with respect to Europe’s involvement in the slave trade during the Renaissance. But, primarily within this context, the term suggests a social and cultural disposition, rather than a political or moral agenda; Jacob applies the word largely to Europeans who “approached those distinctly different from themselves hospitably, with a willingness to get to know them, even like them.”³³ In this way, Renaissance cosmopolitanism and internationalism represent analogous terms when viewed in the context of Western Europe. I employ the concept of cosmopolitanism with this understanding, rather than per its modern definition and associations. My use of cosmopolitan in this way with regard to Lasso is corroborated by current scholarship,

cosmopolitanism also see Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006).

³¹ Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

³² Ibid., 1.

³³ Ibid., 2.

which routinely refers to him as a “cosmopolitan” composer, invoking the early modern understanding of the word that I have described here.³⁴

Overall, my research draws upon secondary sources from the late 20th and early 21st centuries. I incorporate secondary scholarship by Philip Soergel, Jill Raitt, and Brady detailing Counter-Reformation politics and history. Raitt and Brady examine roughly 200 years of religious tradition within German speaking lands and account for the rising importance of Bavaria as a beacon of Catholicism outside of Italy,³⁵ while Soergel analyzes Bavarian Counter-Reformation reforms more specifically.³⁶

Musical analysis of a range of Lasso’s music allows me to display the propaganda efforts within the court itself and in the public sphere. Moreover, Lasso’s quotation of secular tunes in sacred music and vice versa shows the composer’s occasional resistance to his patrons’ Counter-Reformation reforms despite his crucial role in the Bavarian Catholic campaign. Tridentine reforms, which the Bavarian court followed closely, banned the use of secular tunes in sacred music. Thus, Lasso’s incorporation of these tunes represents his challenge of the reforms. While the Wittelsbach dukes used his music for their campaign of reform, his pieces exhibit traces of religious ambiguity, including his selected use of parody and imitation, musical humor, and his use of expressive text and mannerist tendencies. These features illuminate his mental independence from his dogmatic patrons even while his music served as Catholic propaganda and he remained

³⁴ These sources include but are not limited to Haar, “Orlando di Lasso,” 137; J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, tenth edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019), 223.

³⁵ Jill Raitt, *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

³⁶ Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

dependent on his patrons for his livelihood. For example, Lasso's motet *Fertur in conviviiis* [At the banquet is served] (discussed further in chapter three) assumes a sacred façade but features "conspicuous and inevitably trivializing quotation of a distinctive and easily recognizable Gregorian chant melody;" additionally, the original text extolls the tavern above the Church.³⁷ This inflammatory chant parody integrated into a drinking song illustrates a certain resistance towards the Catholic Church in the Counter-Reformation era. However, Lasso simultaneously wrote grand sacred works in the accepted, conservative style that the Church preferred in its post-Tridentine years.³⁸ Taken together, I argue that such compositional choices demonstrate the composer's conflicted, dual conceptions of his own selfhood.

Review of Literature

Musicological studies of Lasso remain scarce, particularly in English; most landmark studies dealing with the composer are in German, including works by Horst Leuchtmann,³⁹ Adolf Sandberger,⁴⁰ Charles van den Borren,⁴¹ and Wolfgang Boetticher.⁴² The first edited volume dealing with the composer entirely in English did not appear until 1999, and the most comprehensive biography of Lasso, Annie Coeurdevey's *Roland de Lassus*, appeared in 2003 in French, and has not been translated into English.⁴³ Furthermore, Lasso's extensive personal correspondence to Wilhelm V

³⁷ Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 31.

³⁸ Haar, "Lassus, Orlande de."

³⁹ Horst Leuchtmann, *Orlando di Lasso: I. Sein Leben* (Weisbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1976).

⁴⁰ Adolf Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1894-95).

⁴¹ Charles van den Borren, *Orlande de Lassus* (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1920).

⁴² Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso*.

⁴³ Coeurdevey, *Roland de Lassus*.

appears in combinations of French, Italian, and German, but no English translation exists.⁴⁴ Much scholarship that does exist deals exclusively with his Magnificats, of which he composed more than any of his contemporaries, his settings of the seven penitential psalms, or his unusual *Prophetiae Sibyllarum*, written for his patron Albrecht V. These works include David Crook's monograph on Lasso's Magnificats.⁴⁵

This narrow focus on selected, seminal pieces within Lasso's output ignores the composer's versatility; in addition to Magnificats, motets, and psalm settings, Lasso also wrote a large number of Masses, as well as secular pieces including Italian madrigals, French chansons, and German lieder. Scholar Peter Bergquist posits several reasons for Lasso's musicological obscurity, particularly citing his music's inaccessibility in print following the composer's death until after the conclusion of World War II:

[an] obstacle to a proper estimate of Lasso's achievement has been the sheer bulk of his production and difficulty of access to it. The first collected edition of his music, *SW*, [*Sämtliche Werke*] was begun in 1894 and ceased publication in 1927 . . . *SWNR* [*Sämtliche Werke: Neue Reihe*] continued this edition after World War II, and only after its completion was all of Lasso's music finally available in print, though [in] editions of widely varying quality.⁴⁶

Perhaps because of this inaccessibility, a significant branch of Lasso scholarship in English and Continental European languages focuses on creating compilations of music rather than analysis or interpretation, including Bergquist's own volume of Lasso's collected motets.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso Briefe* (Weisbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977).

⁴⁵ David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁴⁶ Peter Bergquist, ed., *Orlando di Lasso Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), vii.

⁴⁷ Orlando di Lasso, *The Complete Motets*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Madison: A-R Editions, 1995).

Following the 500th anniversary of the composer's death in 1994, Lasso studies underwent a revitalization and major scholars writing on Lasso in English emerged. Important scholars from this period include Bergquist, who published his edited volume *Orlando di Lasso Studies* as well as Lasso's collected motets,⁴⁸ James Haar, author of the Grove Music entry on Lasso as well as a number of relevant articles, and Alexander Fisher, author of numerous articles and a book detailing the historical reconstruction of Counter-Reformation Bavaria.⁴⁹ Bergquist's edited volume brings together essays by other notable Lasso scholars, such as Daniel Zager and Noel O'Regan, and contextualizes them within both the composer's life and the current state of related research. Haar's work focuses specifically on Lasso as well as his stature within European musical tradition. For my research, I draw from his work regarding the composer's place in print culture and Lasso's importance during his own time.

A significant branch of Lasso scholarship addresses his unique place within the print culture of the era. Kate Van Orden⁵⁰ and Iain Fenlon⁵¹ detail print culture during the sixteenth century, allowing me to contextualize Lasso's place within this industry. Both Haar⁵² and Rebecca Oettinger⁵³ characterize Lasso as an assured composer with a high degree of business acumen. Haar and Oettinger examine his printing privileges, which he cultivated throughout his lifetime to become the first composer with legal rights to his

⁴⁸ Bergquist, *Orlando di Lasso Studies* and Lasso and Bergquist, ed., *Complete Motets*.

⁴⁹ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*.

⁵⁰ Kate Van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

⁵¹ Iain Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London: British Library, 1995).

⁵² Haar, "Orlando di Lasso."

⁵³ Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, "Berg v. Gerlach: Printing and Lasso's Imperial Privilege of 1582," *Fontes artis musicae* 51, no. 1 (2004): 111-34.

own publications. Unlike his forebears, Lasso dealt with print authorities in France and the Holy Roman Empire to secure privileges that allowed him to choose which printers published his compositions; without the composer's explicit permission, printers could face legal repercussions for distributing his work. These privileges lasted for ten years, and authorities renewed them several times during Lasso's life.⁵⁴

Though Lasso-specific scholarship remains limited, many musicologists, such as John Kmetz⁵⁵ and Fisher⁵⁶ study music of the Counter-Reformation and Renaissance Germany and deal with the composer peripherally. I use these works to contextualize Lasso within his political, religious, and geographic surroundings. The paucity of studies with this focus demonstrates that this lack of scholarship extends into research of this era in general; books describing music of the German Renaissance are scarce overall, likely because the region does not fit into a neat Protestant or Catholic narrative, but rather represents combinations and intersections of two or more faiths. Brady corroborates this historiographical view of German historical studies in his monograph detailing religious change in German-speaking lands.⁵⁷

Within Lasso scholarship, musicologists often describe Lasso as having suffered from a religious ambivalence, but they accept this common idea with little to no examination. For example, Lasso scholars, including Haar and Bergquist, note Lasso's

⁵⁴ Oettinger, "Berg v. Gerlach," 114-15.

⁵⁵ John Kmetz, *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁵⁶ Alexander Fisher, "Thesaurus Litaniarum: The Symbolism and Practice of Musical Litanies in Counter-Reformation Germany," *Early Music History* 34, no. 10 (2015): 45-95.

Alexander Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580-1630* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

⁵⁷ Brady, *German Histories*, 1-6.

irresolute faith, a claim that appears in both specific studies of the composer and in more comprehensive sources, such as the Grove entry on the composer.⁵⁸ For example, Haar claims that Lasso was “no Counter-Reformation zealot” despite his activities for the Counter-Reformation in Bavaria.⁵⁹ This assumed, but uninterrogated, premise currently represents a hole in the field, likely because proving ambivalence represents a difficult task. This claim, and the lack of evidence surrounding it, provided the impetus for this thesis; in researching why this claim appeared to be common knowledge, I arrived at my examination of Lasso’s dual selfhood, one of which displays a high degree of piety, and the other of which disregards or even mocks Church tradition. I argue that, rather than ambivalence toward Counter-Reformation religious practices, Lasso cultivated different and seemingly contradictory positions regarding these reforms as a part of his more broadly divided sense of self.

This thesis aims to correct understudied aspects of Lasso’s identity. Through musical analysis and an examination of his dual selves, including the composer’s use of print culture and professional relationships, I illustrate Lasso’s generally accepted religious ambivalence in a new way. I argue that Lasso’s dual selves, and their seeming religious conflicts, result not from a passive ambivalence, but from the composer’s own carefully constructed professional and musical choices and self-representations. While his personal faith remains ambiguous, Lasso clearly and publicly subscribed to Church teachings in his capacity as Bavaria’s *Kapellmeister*. At the same time, he often

⁵⁸ Haar, “Lassus, Orlande de.”

⁵⁹ Ibid.

contradicted the religious façade he presented to his patrons in order to establish his secular, cosmopolitan persona outside of the Bavarian court.

Overview of Thesis Contents

The remainder of this thesis illuminates Lasso's dual identities, and I emphasize the ways in which my work offers new contributions to the field. I divide chapter two into two distinct sections. In the first of these, I establish Bavaria's identity as a staunchly Roman Catholic region, including a discussion of Albrecht and Wilhelm V's post-Tridentine reforms, Bavaria's close alignment with Rome, propaganda specific to Bavaria, and the court's interaction with the local Jesuit college. To frame my claims, I detail formations of a regional selfhood through Church and state establishments via Greenblatt's ideas of institutional control, which describe the ways that governments have fashioned their state's external image.⁶⁰ I apply Greenblatt's ideas to the development of regional self-fashioning by the Bavarian state, who disseminated an identity as the stronghold of Catholicism outside of Italy. Additionally, I study propaganda efforts by both Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, including censorship efforts and Jesuit missionary zeal, in order to demonstrate the ways in which Bavaria both upheld and subverted these typical models.

The second half of chapter two examines Lasso's role in the court and his formation of his pious, post-Tridentine Catholic image, which he created in consultation with his ducal patrons. Lasso's stature as a leading Catholic composer is revealed through

⁶⁰ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 1.

an overview of banned and approved pieces in Munich, and I argue that he expanded this image of a devout musician through both his conservative, church-approved compositions and his continental travels in service of the Bavarian court. Within this chapter, I analyze selected Lasso motets and masses, including *Missa pro defunctis* [Mass for the Dead] (1589) and *Locutus sum in lingua mea* [Then spake I with my tongue] (1568), and display how these works exemplify the musical ideals of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, chiefly in clear text declamation and an exclusion of secular cantus firmus tunes in these sacred works.

Contrastingly, chapter three examines Lasso's entrepreneurial and cosmopolitan persona, characterized by his control over his works in print throughout Europe and in his extensive business dealings, and proves his religious opposition to many of the Counter-Reformation reforms. I provide an overview of Renaissance musical print culture, including growing concerns about authorship among composers and music printers alike. Furthermore, I analyze Lasso's relationships with Protestants in Munich, his specific use of Renaissance print culture, and incorporate musical analyses of key motets such as *Fertur in conviviis* (1564) and *Anna, mihi dilecta* [Anna, my beloved] (1579). These works illustrate Lasso's irreverent attitude toward the Church's post-Tridentine musical desires, thereby subverting the idea of the composer as a devout Catholic.

Chapter four serves as the conclusion to my argument, with a brief look at the implications of this thesis on the field as a whole. Over the course of this thesis, I provide a new approach to the composer by examining his life and works through literary and socio-cultural lenses and contribute to the limited amount of Lasso scholarship in the

English language. Additionally, my interdisciplinary approach views Orlando di Lasso's identity formations within print culture, and I acknowledge the ways in which these identities seemingly contradict one another. My findings hold meaningful implications for the biographical examinations of composers and for continuing scholarship on music print culture, particularly in terms of asserting interrelationships among print, propaganda, and persona in the sixteenth century. My research, though it deals with a specific composer, also provides a broader model for considering the interconnections amongst print culture, politics, religion, and music. These interactions connect to larger sociological concerns, and therefore connect to interdisciplinary dialogues as well, particularly in Renaissance studies.

CHAPTER TWO

ORLANDO DI LASSO'S PIOUS IMAGE AND THE BAVARIAN STATE

Policies of the Bavarian State

Upon Lasso's move to Bavaria (1567), a region described by Thomas Brady as "Rome's most loyal German daughter," to work under the patronage of Albrecht V, he immediately began to cultivate the image of himself as a pious, Counter-Reformation Catholic musician.⁶¹ He accomplished this feat through a combination of his compositions, involvement with the local Jesuit college, and his travels on behalf of the Wittelsbach court. This persona proved necessary due to Albrecht's reforms and the image he wished to convey of the region; working within the ideals of the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent, Albrecht V, and later his son Wilhelm V, carefully curated the image of Bavaria as the chief Catholic stronghold outside of Rome. The Wittelsbach dukes accomplished this regional self-fashioning through stringent reforms and propaganda, including censorship of printed materials (including music), architectural propaganda via the construction of imposing Catholic spaces, an alliance with the newly formed Jesuit chapter of Munich, and a close relationship with Rome.

Beginning with Martin Luther's protestations against the corruptions of the Catholic Church in 1517, Protestantism had quickly spread throughout Europe, chiefly with the creation of the Church of England, Calvinism, Anabaptism, and Lutheranism,

⁶¹ Thomas Brady, *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 294.

resulting in a crisis of faith for people throughout Christendom.⁶² Within German speaking lands, Protestantism of various factions grew to dominate religious life, culminating in devastating religious wars such as the German Peasants' War and the Thirty Years War. These conflicts reached every part of the Holy Roman Empire, ranging from the northernmost cities of Hamburg and Bremen to the Swiss Confederation, and many states within the Empire began to break away from the Catholic Church. Brady argues that the Peasants' War (1525) sparked the larger, and often violent, Reformation throughout Germany, claiming that "the Peasants' War played a highly important role as a turning point in the transformation of the early evangelical movements into the Protestant Reformation."⁶³ Lutheranism in particular shaped German laws following the Peasants' War; state governments transformed clergymen into civil servants, and a focus on individual freedoms under the Christian need for discipline and leadership was a key concern of reformers throughout the Empire as the Reformation grew dominant.⁶⁴ This crisis of faith sparked a corresponding crisis in music, as Catholic musicians tried to promote their faith among new musical genres such as the Lutheran hymn and German Mass, which quickly became mainstays of the German soundscape.⁶⁵

The Church responded to Protestant "heretics" swiftly, resulting in religious wars, systematic murders of dissidents, and, eventually, the formation of the Council of Trent (1545-63). This Council, formed to address the rapid rise of "deviant" religions, sparked

⁶² Brady, *German Histories*, 161-291.

⁶³ Ibid., 197.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 263.

⁶⁵ Alexander Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 22.

the beginnings of “a continuity of Catholic reform;” musicologist Craig Monson claims that “the Council is no longer perceived as an ultimately decisive event,” as it was thought of in many earlier historical studies, but rather resulted in the reassertion of Catholicism’s chief tenets while leaving many reforms up to the leaders of Catholic localities.⁶⁶ Musically, the Council established very few specific guidelines. They denounced the use of secular music and texts within sacred pieces, as those foundations had extra-musical associations that could introduce sin into liturgical works; the Council advocated for clear text declamation, but chose to leave more specific rulings up to regional leaders. As Monson states,

when it came to music, the one mandate [of the Council] that proved to be the most important to the future implementation of the Tridentine decrees . . . was the delegation of responsibilities to provincial synods and local episcopal authorities in the twenty-fourth session. It not only encourages a post-Tridentine music considerably more diverse than generally envisioned in much modern musical scholarship, but also appears to have prompted an immediate amplification in Rome of criteria for musical reform at the local level.⁶⁷

When faced with these provincial reforms, both musical and otherwise, Bavarian authorities looked to Rome for guidance, adopting Roman traditions such as their style of visual and aural adornment of the Mass as well as the Roman Rite and litany.⁶⁸ This attempt at an exact imitation of Rome was unique among German provinces, allowing Bavaria to set itself apart as the northern embodiment of the Catholic Church.

The Counter-Reformation divided German-speaking lands more so than other European nations. As art historian Jeffrey Smith claims, the Catholic Church within

⁶⁶ Craig Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisited,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁸ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 24-27.

German speaking lands “lay in tatters, a dispirited shell of its pre-Reformation body.”⁶⁹

Unlike other nation states who unified under a state ruler, Germany did not become a country until the nineteenth century; the Holy Roman Empire theoretically governed the area, but the small principalities within the Empire ruled themselves with very few exceptions. This governmental arrangement led to fiercely independent states arguing for the adoption of their religion during the sixteenth century, which eventually led to the brutal Thirty Years’ War.⁷⁰ Following the conclusion of the war, marked by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), the ruler of each state decided between either Lutheranism or Catholicism, leading to a divided Empire and the repression of other Protestant faiths.

Within the divided atmosphere of the Reformation and corresponding Counter-Reformation, music constituted a vital part of theology and soon became an agent of religious propaganda. The religious landscape allowed for a wide variety of sacred music, including newly composed Protestant hymns, Lutheran chorales, German masses, and contrafacta in addition to traditional Catholic motets, masses, and psalms.⁷¹ Secular music, including German lieder, French chansons, and Italian madrigals, also formed a crucial part of the cosmopolitan soundscape. Within Lutheranism specifically, music represented “an integral part of worship and home life,” and Lutheran melodies soon made their way into the German collective memory; followers of Protestantism and Catholicism alike hummed these tunes in the streets, further promoting Reformation

⁶⁹ Jeffrey Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 1.

⁷⁰ Brady, *German Histories*, 6.

⁷¹ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 21-22.

ideals.⁷² Catholic states responded to this assertion of Protestant song through the promotion of Catholic music, including hymns, psalms, and motets, many of which were written by Lasso, as well as the official censorship of Protestant works.⁷³ These reforms sought to erase Protestant music from the German mindset in order to allow Catholicism to flourish once again. For example, Johann Leisentrit's *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* [Spiritual Songs and Psalms] (1567) adapted the Lutheran genre of the vernacular hymn with Catholic texts in an attempt "to bring back to the 'true church' . . . those who had defected to Lutheranism."⁷⁴ Interestingly, these songs were in the local vernacular (German), perhaps because local officials wanted to make their Catholic teachings more accessible to the masses to effectively erase Protestant tenets. In Bavaria specifically, state authorities published lists of approved compositions in order to compensate for banned Protestant works.⁷⁵

In order to curtail the spread of Protestantism, the Catholic Church created a culture of propaganda to bring reformers back into the fold. While the specific methods of the Counter-Reformation varied by region, Brady states that the movement within Bavaria fit within the large Catholic model, and was characterized by

centralization of religious and state affairs against the territorial nobility's resistance, repression of heresy and nonconformity, concessions and privileges from Rome, vigorous activity by the religious orders (first and foremost the Jesuits), a demonstrative style of dynastic piety, and a new pedagogy of religious discipline.⁷⁶

⁷² James Haar, *European Music, 1520-1640* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 331-36.

⁷³ David Crook, "A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61, no. 1 (2009): 1-78 and Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*.

⁷⁴ Richard Wetzel and Erika Heitmeyer, *Johann Leisentrit's Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen, 1567: Hymnody of the Counter-Reformation in Germany* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), vii.

⁷⁵ Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 1-78.

⁷⁶ Brady, *German Histories*, 294.

Chief among these propaganda strategies was state censorship. With the advent of the printing press alongside the rise of the Reformation, Church-led censorship increased dramatically, beginning in books but eventually making its way into music and music printing as well; Crook claims that, while censorship was not new to the Church, “no period in the Church’s long history has acquired a more infamous reputation for censorial zeal than the sixteenth century.”⁷⁷ Because print allowed for texts and music, both Catholic and Protestant, to spread more easily and quickly than manuscripts, Church officials sought to curtail its ability to spread heretical ideas; they accomplished this by censoring Protestant books, pamphlets, and pieces, as well as by increasing production of Catholic printed works.

In addition to printed censorship, the Church also sought to promote themselves throughout Europe via architectural and artistic propaganda. During the Counter-Reformation, large cathedrals appeared in cities on the Continent, visually dominating the skyline, and churches became increasingly ornamented throughout the era; between 1570 and 1648, the Jesuits had restored or completed thirty churches in German speaking lands alone.⁷⁸ The Jesuits extended this form of propaganda, setting up colleges in major Catholic hubs and employing art and architecture to extend their ideals. This campaign was especially popular within German provinces, where the Jesuits established their presence in seventy-two towns by the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Brady, *German Histories*, 1.

⁷⁸ Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, 1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

After establishing a residence or college in German towns, Jesuits quickly formed relationships with the local government in order to advance their Counter-Reformation agenda; Jesuit and state institutions worked alongside one another to ensure the survival and eventual resurgence of Catholicism. Jesuit colleges proved crucial to this effort, as Jesuit education constituted “an institution at the very center of . . . Catholic renewal and reform.”⁸⁰ College members received an education in the tenets of Catholic Church as well as general theology, Latin, and often undertook a small degree of musical training as well. Additionally, entrance into the colleges was free and offered opportunities for social advancement, rendering the Jesuit order appealing to nobles and peasants alike.⁸¹ Many men educated within the Jesuit system advanced into local government positions, thereby strengthening the bond between Church and state.⁸²

The Jesuits acknowledged the propagandistic power of music in both Protestantism and Catholicism, eventually adopting specific Catholic works for the college. Lasso’s music featured prominently throughout the era. While the order originally rejected music, viewing it as a distraction from their goal, it nonetheless grew important as the Counter-Reformation continued.⁸³ As Fisher describes, the emergence of popular Protestant hymns caused the Jesuits to acknowledge the persuasive power of music and employ it to their own ends:

The propagandistic potential of certain Protestant songs . . . certainly encouraged the Jesuits to bring out new vernacular songs, including propagandistic contrafacta . . . sound was used to erase heresy and to indoctrinate in proper

⁸⁰ Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 6.

⁸¹ Ibid., 7.

⁸² Ibid., 8.

⁸³ Ibid., 9.

belief, and was systematically denied to those who might disrupt an atmosphere of spiritual and moral discipline.⁸⁴

This quote suggests that, not only did the Bavarian government see music as an important aspect of religious belief, they used song to systematically block Protestantism from mainstream society in the hopes of counteracting the appeal of easily singable Protestant hymns. In addition to the promotion of Catholic psalms and other, easily accessible works, Jesuit colleges formed their own choirs for the singing of polyphony, thus promoting Catholic sacred music both internally and externally.

Bavaria aligns with the trends of Counter-Reformation propaganda and reform described above perfectly, so much so that Brady dubs the region “the fountainhead of Catholic reformation in German lands.”⁸⁵ Working alongside the prominent Munich Jesuit College, Dukes Albrecht and Wilhelm V recast the formerly divided region into a model for post-Tridentine Catholicism. Despite the Protestant sympathizers among the nobility, Bavaria emerged as the central Catholic stronghold outside of Italy. However, Bavaria’s path to this status required a strict propaganda campaign that focused on the curtailment of Protestantism and the promotion of Catholicism via censorship in print, music, and the visual arts, as well as a close alignment with Rome and the establishment of Munich as a key Jesuit center. As Fisher details, “only a long-term, concerted campaign of reform, persuasion, and propaganda, promoted by the dukes and spearheaded by the Society of Jesus, could remake the territory into the unified Catholic region that is the normative image of Bavaria.”⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 13.

⁸⁵ Brady, *German Histories*, 295.

⁸⁶ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 3-4.

In much the same way that individuals began to consciously fashion themselves during the sixteenth century, so too did state institutions; in a reforming society such as Bavaria, this state-fashioning grew crucial to their image as a Catholic stronghold. As Greenblatt states, the role of the state during this period of drastic change within Europe grew more important than ever before. While the idea of individualism increased during the sixteenth century, Greenblatt argues that “there is considerable empirical evidence that there may well have been less *autonomy* in self-fashioning than before, that family, state, and religious institutions impose a more rigid and far-reaching discipline upon their . . . subjects.”⁸⁷ In other words, states sought to increase their control over the day-to-day lives of citizens, exemplified in Bavaria through the state’s extensive censorship practices. For much of his compositions intended for Bavaria, Lasso followed Counter-Reformation ideals, allowing many of his works, two of which I analyze below, to escape this censorship. Because religious life, a crucial aspect of both individual and regional identity, underwent massive alterations that affected both the social and governmental status quo, state-led reforms acted in a reactionary manner to the Reformation. In response to alternative methods of thinking and living, government and Church officials displayed a “new dedication to the imposition of control” over these new modes of life, and ultimately aimed for “the destruction of alternatives.”⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 1; italics original. As I discuss further in Chapter 3, this idea of state control conflicts with Lasso’s own self-fashioning as a religiously ambivalent and versatile composer; however, his place of privilege within the Bavarian court and favor with the Wittelsbachs allowed him to modify his pro-Catholic image in order to cultivate his second persona.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 1-2.

In order to achieve the state-fashioned image of a staunchly pro-Catholic stronghold, the Bavarian government, along with local Church officials, imposed a wide array of Counter-Reformation policies to bring Bavarian citizens back into the fold of post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism. Bavarian officials based their reforms upon Catholicism as practiced in Rome, seeking to reflect the reforms of the Council of Trent and emulate the Roman liturgy, with Wilhelm V formally adopting the Roman Rite into the Munich church.⁸⁹

Chief among the court's reformation policies was the censorship of any "inappropriate" material, including Protestant as well as more risqué Catholic materials; this censorship was begun by Albrecht V and expanded under his son, Wilhelm. Following a period of religious tolerance, Albrecht doubled down on ensuring the preservation of "true faith" throughout his lands. The effort is exemplified by his creation of the Council for Spiritual Affairs as the Reformation gained traction in German speaking lands.⁹⁰ The Council, made up of officials appointed by Albrecht V, ensured the implementation of Tridentine reforms in churches throughout the region, including in Freising, Eichstatt, and Regensburg, and reviewed all books before their publication, censoring their contents or rejecting them outright if the works were deemed anti-Catholic.⁹¹ Crook describes their extensive practices, stating that

the Council was entrusted with responsibility for the examination and correction of materials prior to publication; the oversight of importation, sale, and possession of books and the licensing of printers. Later ducal mandates expanded the

⁸⁹ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 24.

⁹⁰ Brady, *German Histories*, 294-95.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 295.

purview of censoring authorities beyond sectarian questions to include questions of morality and public decency.⁹²

In addition to the censorship campaign, Bavarian officials also promoted Catholic beliefs by creating lists of approved materials. These lists were unique to Bavaria; as Crook claims, “most sixteenth-century censors did not concern themselves with lists of approved publications: enumeration of the prohibited sufficed.”⁹³ Bavarian church officials, however, led by the Jesuits, sought to provide alternatives to censored works to compensate for the loss of heretical works.⁹⁴

As the home of one of the most opulent and renowned musical courts in Europe, Bavaria held a rich musical culture that officials sought to censor and reshape in the same way they had done for literary works, creating extensive approved and banned lists for musical compositions.⁹⁵ Lasso’s music appeared prominently on both lists, to the extent that officials created “Lasso-only” sections.⁹⁶ Alternatives to Protestant music stood at the center of musical reform, as state and Church officials realized “the propagandistic potential of certain Protestant songs.”⁹⁷ To combat the preeminence of Protestant hymnody within the German collective memory, Bavarian officials promoted Catholic vernacular pieces such as hymns and contrafacta published in songbooks in major urban centers, including the Bavarian capital of Munich.⁹⁸ Lasso’s German lieder constituted

⁹² Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 50.

⁹³ Ibid., 16.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁹⁵ Crook details some of these highly censored literary books, including a complete ban of Hebrew books within the Holy Roman Empire and Michael Servetus’s *Christianismi restitution* [*Restoration of Christianity*]; for further discussion of these banned books and Church censorship practices see Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 1-4.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 14.

⁹⁷ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 13.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 13.

one example of these new vernacular works. Albrecht V also made the singing of these new Catholic songs required in schools, while he banned Protestant music altogether.⁹⁹

Wilhelm V expanded Bavarian church music, with renewed emphasis on the Marian cult, when he anointed the Virgin as the “patron saint of Bavaria.”¹⁰⁰ For both Lasso and other composers in the region, this increased focus on church music, and Marian devotion in particular, led to a boom of Magnificats, along with contrapuntally complex mass settings and dramatic polychoral pieces. Additionally, Bavaria’s close alignment with Rome, and therefore with Italian musical trends, sparked the rise of instrumental music within the region. As Fisher describes, Bavarian music during the Counter-Reformation created “a potentially overwhelming synaesthetic experience that underscored the sacral quality of Catholic liturgy.”¹⁰¹ The music produced by the Bavarian court, led by Lasso, formed a crucial part of the Bavarian propaganda campaign, which, alongside other forms of propaganda, helped to combat heresy and promote “proper [Catholic] belief.”¹⁰²

In addition to the Bavarian state’s own censorship efforts, Albrecht V forged a close relationship with the local Jesuit college to ensure the domination of Catholicism. After requesting an outpost in Munich in 1559, the college quickly grew into one of the most important in Europe, surging to over 600 students within twenty years of its founding.¹⁰³ The Jesuits, with monetary and political support from the Wittelsbach

⁹⁹ Ibid., 39.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 31.

¹⁰² Ibid., 13.

¹⁰³ Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 46.

family, reinforced the ducal goals of eradicating Protestantism through censorship, propaganda, and a newly reworked educational system. The Jesuit method of education proved integral to the Counter Reformation, to the extent that Crook describes it as “an institution at the very center of early modern Catholic renewal and reform.”¹⁰⁴ The Munich Jesuit college charged no tuition, thus providing opportunities for advancement, and featured instruction in philosophy, moral theology, Latin, the humanities, and music.¹⁰⁵ Following graduation from the college, many students entered local government and clerical positions, thus strengthening the bond between the Bavarian church and state.¹⁰⁶ Music represented one of the most co-dependent aspects of the Jesuit college with the court; members of the Bavarian court chapel, or *Hofkapelle*, taught music to the students of the college, and performed there on special occasions.¹⁰⁷ On a larger scale, the Wittelsbach family leaned on the Jesuit education system to mold Bavarian citizens appropriately and thoroughly indoctrinate them in the Catholic faith, as evidenced by Albrecht V’s 1569 School Ordinance that outlined a “model curriculum” identical to the one taught at the college.¹⁰⁸

The Bavarian state, church officials, and newly dominant Jesuit college sought to dominate the public spaces of Munich, and the region as a whole, through propagandistic use of the arts, music included. To the dismay of Munich’s city council, Wilhelm V provided the funds for the construction of the ornate church of St. Michael’s and several

¹⁰⁴ Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 6.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

city blocks of new buildings for the Jesuit college, which spatially overlooked the center of Munich with its massive façade; the interior provided the congregation and clergy with an unobscured view of each other and a clear transmission of the auditory elements of the service, including chant, polyphony, and the reading of the gospel.¹⁰⁹ This new building allowed for churchgoers to hear and understand the Mass more easily and also served as an imposing feature of Munich's cityscape.

Effectively, the church building constitutes propaganda in itself; the Church visually controlled large portions of the city, and the building functioned as an intimidating reminder of the Church's grandeur. Crook claims that the dramatic architecture of St. Michael's promotes "a wholly new sense of order, discipline, power, and authority," reinforcing the authority of the state over its citizens, particularly in regard to their religious beliefs.¹¹⁰ The ornamentation on the Church and its dedication to the Archangel Michael served to promote Bavaria's state-fashioning as a crusading force for Catholicism in German speaking lands, and served "as an allegory of the victory of good over evil but also specifically truth over heresy and Bavaria over her foes."¹¹¹ The church also enshrined Albrecht and Wilhelm as the leaders of this fight, "where, as a part of a cycle of fifteen life-size statues, Wilhelm and his father take their places within an army of venerable Christian heroes extending back to Ludwig the Bavarian and Charlemagne."¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 46 and Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 42-43.

¹¹⁰ Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 47.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 49.

Bavarian officials, with Lasso as their musical leader, also sought to control the soundscape of the region through increased processions through the city, feast days, and militaristic church music. Much of the war-like imagery of St. Michael's and the newly militaristic music of Bavaria mirrors imagery associated with crusading, a vital part of Catholic history, which further emphasizes the urgency that the Church felt in the need to bring Protestants back into the Catholic fold. Furthermore, it also highlights the divided religious environment of Christendom during the Counter-Reformation, externally paralleling Lasso's own divided sense of himself.

Lasso's Persona within Bavaria

It was within this zealous, propagandizing environment that Lasso forged his pious image as a post-Tridentine Catholic employee of the Wittelsbach court, which recruited him to his Bavarian position following his 1555 Antwerp publication. Prior to his move to Munich, however, Lasso had established himself as an important Roman composer through positions at churches throughout the city, most notably with a post as *maestro di capella* at S Giovanni in Laterano beginning in 1553. While Lasso did not remain in Rome long after he assumed this position, his music, particularly his madrigals, grew increasingly famous throughout the Italian peninsula; by 1555, printers released books of his works in Venice and in Rome seemingly without the composer's request.¹¹³ After these initial publications, Lasso's works appeared in print each year until his death.¹¹⁴ While in Rome, Lasso integrated himself into important Roman social, musical, and

¹¹³ Haar, "Orlando di Lasso," 130.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 126.

religious circles. He cultivated close relationships with the exiled Archbishop Altoviti, the composer Giovanni Animuccia (then the music director of St. Peter's Basilica), and Filippo Neri, a prominent composer whose *laude spirituali* [praise songs] were featured in prints and performances throughout the city.¹¹⁵ He also likely knew Palestrina, due to their presence in Rome at the same time as well as the interactions between both of their social circles, though an official recording of such a meeting has never been found.¹¹⁶ Additionally, Lasso's early compositions were featured in official Holy Week activities in Rome, further displaying his important status and the liturgical weight that his work was seen to carry.¹¹⁷ These crucial Roman connections, as well as a prominent role within the city's musical scene, likely rendered Lasso a highly desirable recruit for the Bavarian court, which, as Daniel Zager claims, became increasingly concerned with becoming *Roman Catholic* in the Counter-Reformation and post-Tridentine eras.¹¹⁸ In addition to his Roman stature, Lasso also composed in a wide array of styles as evidenced in his 1555 Antwerp publication (Opus 1), which displayed his versatility and utility to potential patrons.¹¹⁹

In order to please his patrons, Lasso deliberately crafted not only musical compositions, but a complete pious persona to which he conformed throughout his time acting in service of the court; in this way, he holistically served the Wittelsbach family in

¹¹⁵ Noel O'Regan, "Orlando di Lasso and Rome: Personal Contacts and Musical Influences," in *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 137.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹¹⁸ Daniel Zager, "Post-Tridentine Liturgical Change and Functional Music: Lasso's Cycle of Polyphonic Latin Hymns," in *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 49.

¹¹⁹ I expand upon this idea further in my third chapter.

all the ways required of him, and often exceeded what was mandatory in order to augment this pious image, such as with his donations to the local Jesuit college.¹²⁰ Working within an active Counter-Reformation environment resulted in additional duties for Lasso throughout his career, as his patrons demanded an increased compositional output, musical interaction with the Jesuit College, and added feast days and processions to the Bavarian church calendar, requiring the composer to participate in more religious events than ever before.¹²¹ These increased processions, particularly those for the Corpus Christi feast day, combined Church music with “artificial” sounds such as bells, canons, and guns, which aurally dominated the Munich soundscape, and “were used as demonstrations of piety and propaganda.”¹²² As the Counter-Reformation continued, processions grew increasingly important within Munich.

These loud, Catholic celebrations constituted another part of the Bavarian Counter-Reformation campaign and, in tandem with the state’s architectural propaganda, dictated the senses of Munich’s citizens, thereby erasing the sights and sounds of Protestantism while advancing a Catholic ideology. Church and state officials encouraged these displays throughout the region, where they served to combat the spread of Protestantism in Bavaria’s most divided cities.¹²³ Lasso’s music and the composer himself played a central role in the Munich processions, where “a web of significant sounds, including chant, polyphony, the pealing of bells, and the report of cannon and musket fire . . . projected the triumph of the Catholic Eucharist and appropriated space

¹²⁰ Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 45.

¹²¹ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 24-26.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 23.

over a wide acoustic horizon.”¹²⁴ Lasso’s grand polyphonic compositions served a crucial role in these militaristic displays of Bavarian-Roman Catholicism.

This increase in Church events, as well as a renewed focus on the services of the Holy Office, required Lasso to produce sacred music in huge amounts, leading to his composition of an increased amount of Magnificats, written for the Vespers service, as well as masses, motets, and hymns. As Bossuyt describes, Lasso wrote almost exclusively sacred works after the year 1579, once Wilhelm V ascended to the Bavarian throne and expanded upon the liturgical reforms of his father.¹²⁵ Lasso’s polyphonic hymn cycle proves exemplary of this new trend; begun in 1580, the cycle, Zager argues, “is motivated specifically by post-Tridentine liturgical change at the Munich court . . . it was, more importantly, an explicit means of identifying the Bavarian ducal court with its ultimate model--the papal court in Rome.”¹²⁶ While he continued to compose secular works, Lasso’s overwhelming attention to the sacred realm reflects the religious focus of his patrons and the duties of his position as the leader of music within Bavaria.

The Bavarian court’s musicians engaged in a close relationship with the musicians of the Jesuit college throughout Lasso’s tenure as *Kapellmeister*. As mentioned above, court musicians, including Lasso, often taught students at the college. In addition to these lessons, the *Hofkapelle* performed for the college’s special occasions, including the opening of a new auditorium in 1576, the funeral of papal nuncio Bartolomeo Portia

¹²⁴ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 24.

¹²⁵ Ignace Bossuyt, Eugeen Schruers, Annelies Wouters, Alamire Foundation, and International Colloquium on Orlando Di Lasso, *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994* (Peer: Alamire Foundation, 1995), 19.

¹²⁶ Zager, “Post-Tridentine Liturgical Change,” 63.

in 1578, and the college's Holy Week services in 1580.¹²⁷ Lasso frequently allowed his musicians to perform at the college independently, and was also listed with his wife as a benefactor of the institution.¹²⁸ Lasso's status as a benefactor highlights the fact that, while he performed his required duties for the Wittelsbach family, he went above and beyond the requirements of his position in order to support and shape the church-related activities of the city, thus reinforcing his devout persona.

With Lasso at its head, Bavaria's musical culture grew even more aligned with the ideals of the Counter-Reformation through the adoption of censored lists of approved and banned musical pieces. Because Church officials feared the powerful effects of music and its ability to influence people's ways of thinking, the Munich Jesuit College published long lists of approved and banned books and musical pieces in order to combat the spread of Protestant music.¹²⁹ While the Council of Trent provided several, vague statements regarding musical reform, including the removal of secular elements from sacred music and a high focus on text intelligibility, they largely chose to allow individual dioceses to implement changes as they saw fit.¹³⁰ The Jesuit College, alongside the ducal government, took this responsibility to heart, providing these lists as well as musical performances at the college. They paid special attention to Lasso due to his dominant position in the region's musical life, featuring lists dedicated solely to his music--both approved and banned pieces--while combining the works of all other composers into a

¹²⁷ Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 45.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-15.

¹³⁰ Monson, "Council of Trent Revisited," 5-8.

single list.¹³¹ In addition to these compositions, the censorship list provides musical instruction in line with Church teachings, including strict rules on music copying as well as an individualized review process for pieces that did not appear on either list.¹³² The rules also reveal the Jesuit's musical culture throughout the Bavarian lands, as they describe occasions for recreational music both in Munich and Ingolstadt as well as music appropriately suited to Church feasts and religious holidays.¹³³ While Lasso appeared on both the banned and approved lists, the high amount of his approved works indicates his integral status to the musical culture of the region.

Lasso's Bavarian persona was crucial to his entrepreneurial, international side even though the two came sometimes into conflict with one another. His promotion to *Kapellmeister* in 1562 necessitated his high level of involvement with the musical needs of the Wittelsbachs and the Jesuits, as they partnered with the local government to support their Catholic agenda. The composer served the family until his death without objection, thereby making himself indispensable to their reforms and placing him in a privileged position in the eyes of Albrecht and Wilhelm V. His loyalty to the Wittelsbachs is well documented; a contemporaneous interview with theorist Lodovico Zacconi (1555-1627) makes this devotion clear, as Lasso claims to have composed something every day to "keep himself ready should his ducal patron ask for some music" even at the end of his life.¹³⁴ At the same time, Lasso proved zealous in his courtly duties,

¹³¹ Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 14.

¹³² These instructions are ascribed to Ferdinand Alber, the provincial of the German Upper Province. Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 13.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹³⁴ This interview was part of Zacconi's second treatise, in his accounts of specific, contemporaneous composers including Palestrina, Striggio, and Rore. Haar, "Orlando di Lasso," 151 and

a fact that has perhaps prompted musicologists to note the composer's religious ambivalence. Furthermore, it was his position in Bavaria that allowed him to travel throughout Europe, under the service of the ducal government, and cultivate his professional relationships and print culture. In this way, he expanded upon his international presence and cosmopolitan persona while still under the auspices of Bavaria.

These trips to major European cities such as Paris and Rome enabled Lasso to create relationships that allowed for his control of his prints and their circulation (which I expand upon in Chapter 3); they also served to further Bavarian ideals and musical culture across western Europe. Beginning in 1561, Munich began a program of exchanging music prints with Rome that allowed for cross-cultural musical transmission between the two cities.¹³⁵ While the Roman portfolio sent to Bavaria featured a range of composers, including Palestrina, Bavaria sent only works composed by Lasso, thus highlighting his status as *the* Bavarian Counter-Reformation composer.¹³⁶ Lasso's works were subsequently placed into the papal chapel's library, reinforcing the strengthening bond between Bavarian and Roman Catholicism.¹³⁷ Lasso traveled to Rome in person in the year 1574, where he met with high ranking church officials on behalf of his patrons. Chief among these officials was Pope Gregory XVIII, who inducted Lasso into the Order of the Golden Spur.¹³⁸ This honor, the second-highest of the Catholic Church, is granted

James Haar, "A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36, no. 2 (Summer 1983), 196-97.

¹³⁵ O'Regan, "Lasso and Rome," 138-39.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 138-39.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 139-40.

by the pope for distinguished services to the Catholic Church.¹³⁹ As such, Lasso's elevation to this Order displays his reputation as a staunch Catholic who aided the needs of the Counter-Reformation not only in Bavaria, but throughout Christendom.

Lasso's Musically Devout Persona

Many of Lasso's works were performed in the Bavarian court to the pleasure of the Wittelsbach family and the local Jesuit college. I examine two of these works that exemplify the post-Tridentine desires of the Catholic Church, and thereby represent strong instances of Lasso's pious image. These works, *Missa pro defunctis* and *Locutus in sum lingua mea* appear on the Jesuit college's list of approved music, further demonstrating their alignment with Church ideals. The Council's musical decrees remained vague in an effort to allow for specific reform within individual dioceses, but officials did determine several key tenets of how church music should sound. Text intelligibility became paramount, and composers such as Palestrina grew to exemplify the new stylistic desires of the Church. By the end of the twenty-fifth session of the Council, Church officials determined that music should in no way obscure the message of the liturgy, but rather enhance it, and that all "profane" (i.e. secular) elements be removed from church music, such as quotations of a secular melody within a sacred piece.¹⁴⁰ They also preferred little to no chromaticism, as it could distract from the text.

Lasso's five-voice *Missa pro defunctis* (1589), long recognized for its unusual use of the bass voice, exemplifies Lasso's compliance with these post-Tridentine musical

¹³⁹ "The Papal Order of the Golden Spur," Papalknights.org, accessed February 13, 2019.

¹⁴⁰ Monson, "Council of Trent Revisited," 5-8.

guidelines.¹⁴¹ Within *Missa pro defunctis*, Lasso uses the Gregorian chant of the Requiem mass as a cantus firmus melody, a choice consistent with the post-Tridentine desires of the church to erase secular tunes from liturgical works. The text of the first movement of the mass is as follows:

Requiem aeternam	Grant them eternal rest,
dóna eis, Domine	O Lord, and let perpetual
et lux perpetua luceat eis.	light shine upon them.
Te decet hymnus, Deus in Sion,	A hymn is owed to Thee in Zion,
et tibi reddetur	Lord, and a vow shall be
votum in Jerusalem;	returned to Thee in Jerusalem.
exaudi orationem meam,	Hear my prayer, to Thee
ad te omnis caro veniet.	shall come all flesh. ¹⁴²

By using a well-known plainchant, Lasso steeps the *Missa pro defunctis* strongly within Catholic tradition; he also uses little dissonance in the work, and many passages feature extensive homophony, thus keeping the text declamation clear. Lasso uses the chant from the mass for the dead in every movement of the *Missa pro defunctis*; at the beginning of each movement, the bass voice, in solo, intones the first phrase of the original chant (fig. 2.1), after which Lasso places the subsequent phrases of the original melody into the tenor I voice in a highly drawn out form, shown below in mm. 3-8 (fig. 2.2). Lasso's emphasis on the bass voice via the opening solo chant intonation and the long notes of the cantus firmus melody in the tenor I further highlight the solemnity of the Requiem Mass, in keeping with the reverence of the original chant and signaling respect for the Catholic Church tradition.

¹⁴¹ Haar, "Lassus, Orlando de."

¹⁴² Translation taken from David Rosen, *Verdi: Requiem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 18.

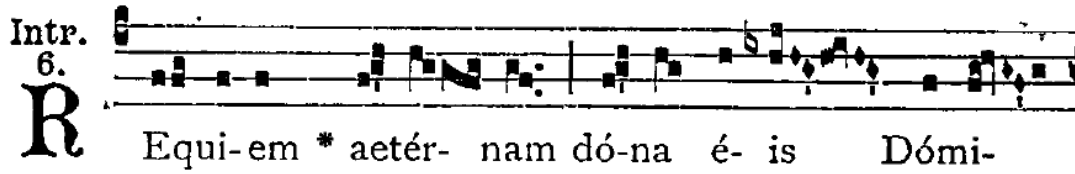


Figure 2.1: The Introit chant of the Requiem Mass as notated in the *Liber Usualis*.¹⁴³

Requiem

B. Re-qui-em 1580

S. Ae - ter - nam, ae - ter - nam, ae -

A. Ae - ter -

T. I. Ae -

T. II. Ae - ter - nam, ae -

B. Ae - ter - nam, ae -

ter - nam, ae - ter - nam... do - na e - is, do - na e - is do -

nam, ae - ter - nam do - na e - is, do - na e - is do -

ter - nam... do - na...

ternam ae - ter - nam do - na e - is, do - na e -

ter - nam, ae - ter - nam do - na... e - is, do -

Figure 2.2: Lasso's setting of the Introit of the Requiem Mass, featuring a bass introduction followed by the placement of the original plainchant into the tenor I voice.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Catholic Church, *Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Society of St. John the Evangelist, Desclée, 1952), 1807.

¹⁴⁴ Siegfried Hermelink, ed., *Messen 24-26, Messen des Druckes München 1589*, vol. 6 of *Orlando di Lasso: Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966), 135.

In addition to Lasso's placement of a traditional chant as a cantus firmus for this new work, he also avoids *musica ficta*, in keeping with another aesthetic desire of post-Tridentine musical ideas. Further, his musical setting includes alternations of homophony with imitative polyphony, rendering the text audible throughout. Another nod to Church tradition is evident in Lasso's setting of the psalm verse, *Te decet hymnus*, of the Requiem antiphon, in the second section of the same movement.¹⁴⁵ This psalm verse is set in straightforward homophony, ensuring that the audience understands the Biblical text (fig. 2.3). While the movement does include *musica ficta*, Lasso weaves these pitches smoothly into the counterpoint and quickly resolves them, usually by semi-tone motion (mm. 5-6 in the soprano; 7-8 in the altus; 10-11, 13-14 and 16-17 in the tenor II; fig. 2.3). Many of the fictive pitches appear multiple times (F#, C#, and one E-flat), but as part of the same gestures, as they are repeated in differing voices due to the often imitative texture of the work. These quick resolutions ensure that the work remains consonant overall, in keeping with post-Tridentine desires, rendering *Missa pro defunctis* in alignment with Church ideals both in its cantus firmus usage and its musical setting.

¹⁴⁵ Ruth Steiner and Keith Falconer, "Lauds," *Grove Music Online* (2001), <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.utk.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16103>, accessed March 18, 2019.

Te decet hymnus

Te de-cet hymnus, De-us in Si-on

S. Et ti - bi red - de-tur vo - tum in Je - ru -

A. Et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum in Je -

T. I. Et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum in Je - ru -

T. II. Et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum in Je -

B. Et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum in Je - ru -

- sa - lem, ex - au - di, ex - au - di De - us o - ra - ti - o - nem me -

ru - sa - lem, ex - au - di De - us o - ra - ti - o - nem me -

sa - lem, ex - au - di De - us o - ra - ti - o - nem me -

ru - sa - lem, ex - au - di De - us o - ra - ti - o - nem me - am, ad..

sa - lem, ex - au - di De - us o - ra - ti - o - nem me -

am, ad te o - mnis ca - ro ve - ni - et.

- am, ad te omnis ca - ro ve - ni - et.

am, ad te o - mnis ca - ro ve - ni - et.

te o - mnis ca - ro ve - ni - et.

am, ad te o - mnis ca - ro ve - ni - et.

Figure 2.3: The score of *Te decet hymnus*, showing Lasso's homophonic setting as well as his quick resolution of dissonance.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Hermelink, ed., *Messen 24-26*, 137.

Alongside *Missa pro defunctis*, Lasso's six-voice motet *Locutus in sum lingua mea* (1568) further illustrates the composer's alignment with the ideals of the Counter-Reformation. The text, taken from Psalm 39, states:

Locutus sum in lingua mea:
Notum fac mihi Domine finem meum.
Et numerum dierum meorum quis est:
Ut sciam quid desit mihi.

Then spake I with my tongue:
Lord, make me to know mine end
and the measure of my days, what it is;
that I may know how frail I am.¹⁴⁷

The speaker reverently cedes authority to God due to their own frailty, and the words are a self-conscious consideration of the narrator's own human weakness, perhaps indicating self-reflection on behalf of the composer, too.

The piece supports Counter-Reformation ideals not only in its text, but also in its specific musical setting. Due to Lasso's use of points of imitation, the text remains audible, as all six voices repeat it in turn. This imitative texture appears in the opening of the work, where Lasso introduces the piece with a leap of a perfect fifth, a characteristic motive for the Phrygian mode, which he variously uses based on A and E within the motet (fig. 2.4, cantus, mm. 1-2).¹⁴⁸ The imitation of the opening measures repeats this leap in all the voices, as the cantus and tenor invert the altus I and II, bassus I, and bassus II lines. This imitation can also be interpreted as perhaps a reflection of Lasso himself; their distance from each other mirrors his divided sense of self, while their relation to each other suggests two interdependent sides despite their contradictions.

Lasso enhances his use of the Phrygian mode by other means as well, notably in m. 27 leading into m. 28, where the tenor and cantus voices create a Phrygian cadence on

¹⁴⁷ Psalm 39: 3-4, King James version.

¹⁴⁸ Marie Göllner, "Orlando di Lasso and Andrea Gabrieli: Two Motets and Their Masses in a Munich Choir Book from 1564-5," in *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 24-25.

A in contrary motion (fig. 2.5, mm. 27-28). While Lasso does employ *musica ficta*, generally discouraged by Church officials, he primarily uses chromaticism to create cadential points through the use of *subsemitonium modi*, after which he quickly resolves it; non-cadential semitones are also quickly resolved (mm. 2-3 in the altus I, mm. 4-5, in the altus 2, mm. 5-7 in the cantus, mm. 7-8 in the bassus I, m. 9 in the bassus II, fig. 2.4). As within the *Missa pro defunctis*, there is a limited variety of *musica ficta* pitches employed; here, the fictive pitches are primarily G#s. The numerous statements of this note are due to Lasso's strict imitation, rather than a level of extreme chromaticism, once again keeping the piece aligned with post-Tridentine thought. If Lasso does indeed identify with the narrator as I suggest, his setting reinforces his religious alignment with Bavarian Catholicism. These trends continue in the remainder of the work, rendering it an appropriate sample of Lasso's devout musical style.

Striking examples of the work's homophony appear situated throughout mm. 23-33 of the piece, as Lasso features a full-voice cadence in mm. 23-24, with all voices rhythmically sustaining the cadential pause. The pronounced cadence occurs on the "um" of "meum [me]" (mm. 23-24), drawing attention to the deferential self-consciousness of the work. Additionally, the cadence takes place during a rare triadic moment, as the voices form an E-major chord; this triad draws further attention to the cadence.

Cantus

Altus 1

Altus 2

Tenor

Bassus 1

Bassus 2

me- a, in lin- gua me- a, in lin-

lin- gua me- a, in lin- gua me- a, in lin- gua me- a,

lin- gua me- a, (in lin- gua me- a, in lin- gua me- a, in

- cu- tus sum in lin- gua me- a, lo- cu- tus sum

Lo- cu- tus sum in lin- gua me- a,

Lo- - cu- tus sum in

Figure 2.4: The opening of *Locutus in sum lingue mea*, featuring a leap of a perfect fifth in mm. 1-2 (cantus), as well as the imitation of the six voices as they enter one-by-one.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ Orlando di Lasso and Peter Bergquist, ed., *The Complete Motets* vol. 6 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1995), 47.

22

-nem me- um. Et nu- me-rum, et nu- me- rum

fi- nem me- um. Et nu- me-rum, et nu- me- rum, et

-um, fi- - nem me- um. Et nu- me- rum, (et nu- me-rum)

-ne, fi- nem me- um. Et nu- me-rum, et nu- me-

-nem me- um. Et nu- me- rum, (et

- nem me- um. Et nu- me-rum, (et nu- me-

28

di- e- rum me- o- rum, (di- e- rum me- o- rum,) quis —

nu- me-rum di- e- rum me- o- rum, di- e- rum me- o- rum, di- e- rum me- o- rum,

di- e- - rum me- o- rum, di- e- rum me- o- rum, di- e- rum me- o- rum, quis —

-rum — di- e- rum me- o- rum, — quis est,

nu- me-rum) di- e- rum me- o- rum, quis —

-rum) di- e- rum me- o- rum, (di- e- rum me- o- rum,) quis —

Figure 2.5: This example features many key features of the work, including a homophonic cadence (mm. 23-24), a Phrygian cadence (mm. 27-28), and a homophonic *cori spezzati* section between the four interior voices (mm. 29-33).¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Lasso and Bergquist, ed., *Complete Motets* vol. 6, 49.

He also subdivides the texture by making use of antiphonal homophony between two sets of voices (antiphonal homophony appears in mm. 28-33, fig. 2.5, described in more detail below). An example of such homophony takes place on the text “et numerum dierum meorum [the measure of my days]” as the altus I and II form one choir while the other voices accent their words and serve as the second *cori spezzati*, ensuring that these self-aware words are rendered audible to audiences (mm. 29-33). Additionally, the repeated half notes of the passage serve as a madrigalism for the word “measure,” as the text declamation serves as a unit of rhythmic measurement while the voice intones the word. This intelligibility provides another moment of self-reflection on behalf of the narrator, as the speaker considers the days remaining in his life and appeals to God for clarity.¹⁵¹ By creating this antiphonal texture via the use of polychorality, Lasso links this work both to antiphonal Gregorian chant tradition as well as to the polychoral music of Palestrina, who is often considered the pinnacle of Counter-Reformation sacred music, and who was admired by Bavarian Catholics for his affiliation with Rome. This Roman connection highlights the importance that Bavaria placed on a close alignment with Rome, and showcases a moment in which Lasso’s cosmopolitanism and international connections served to please his patrons as well as augment his image. When viewed through the lens of Lasso’s Bavarian image, this work, alongside *Missa pro defunctis*, serves to illustrate the composer’s subscription to Counter-Reformation ideologies as they proved relevant to his role within the Wittelsbach court. Indeed, Lasso endowed the

¹⁵¹ For a further discussion of Renaissance articulations of selfhood through spiritual reflection in music, see Bonnie Blackburn, “For Whom do the Singers Sing?” *Early Music* 25 (1997): 593-609.

motet with religiosity so thoroughly that he later converted it into a mass for liturgical use (*Missa locutus sum*, 1587).¹⁵²

Conclusion

Throughout his time working in Munich, Lasso self-fashioned an image of Counter-Reformation piety through a combination of musical compliance with Tridentine decrees, travels in service of the court, and extensive participation in the Counter-Reformation campaign within Bavaria. These activities included his involvement with the Jesuit college as well as his compositions for and participation in feast days and processions within the city. Further, his printed approved pieces served as prominent features of Bavaria's Catholic musical life. His musical works, including *Missa pro defunctis* and *Locutus in sum lingua mea* also display Lasso's adoption of piety. This image, created and promoted by the composer himself, garnered Lasso a privileged position in the eyes of Bavaria's ducal government, which in turn allowed him to create a dual selfhood via his additional persona of a versatile entrepreneur, as I demonstrate further in Chapter 3.

¹⁵² Haar, "Lassus, Orlando de."

CHAPTER THREE

LASSO AS A COSMOPOLITAN ENTREPRENEUR

In stark contrast to Lasso's pious, Bavarian identity, he also cultivated an image as a musical businessman who utilized the print culture of the day, as well as his professional relationships with religious and state figures, to further this versatile persona. This persona often came into conflict with his devout image, and his underlying resistance to the zealous policies of the Counter-Reformation reveals itself through this projection of his persona in print, personal relationships, and musical compositions. Despite their seeming conflict, these two sides enabled each other. Lasso's established cosmopolitan image provided the catalyst for his employment in Bavaria. This in turn allowed Lasso to work within the print culture of the day and travel throughout Europe to nurture his versatile image as he simultaneously served the Wittelsbach family.

Overview of Print Culture

Though Johannes Gutenberg first developed the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, music prints did not materialize until approximately 50 years later, when the Venetian Ottaviano Petrucci published *Odhecaton A* (1501), a book of 96 polyphonic works.¹⁵³ Soon after this initial publication, however, printers produced music books by the thousands, and they quickly became a mainstream aspect of sixteenth-century society.¹⁵⁴ Musicologist Richard Wistreich claims that for sixteenth-century society,

¹⁵³ J. Peter Burkholder, Donald J. Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, tenth edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019), 156.

¹⁵⁴ Iain Fenlon and British Library, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London: British Library, 1995), 1.

music books constituted “an inherently unstable discourse, notoriously ill-suited to entextualization . . . and doggedly resistant to capture.”¹⁵⁵ The idea of transmitting an aural phenomenon through text, particularly when musical notation still represented a developing system, caused apprehension among many Renaissance musicians regarding print’s ability to accurately convey sound; even in the height of the printing craze, Renaissance music still consisted of a wide array of exclusively oral traditions, including elaborate vocal ornamentation, canonic realization, fauxbourdon improvisation, and improvised accompaniments to singing.¹⁵⁶ Because the new technoculture of print could not fully account for the orality of the Renaissance musical tradition, a fact that musicians of the era acknowledged continuously throughout the century, music printing during this era served as a tool for performance, rather than an object of independent musical value.

Despite the limitation of print’s inability to capture the full extent of music’s oral tradition, music printing grew into a large, highly competitive industry that allowed for rapid dissemination of music throughout the continent, with printers established in most urban centers of Europe by the end of the century.¹⁵⁷ These printers included Petrucci in Venice, Attaignant and Le Roy & Ballard in Paris, Susato in Antwerp, and Adam Berg in Munich. In addition to the widespread availability of presses, the cost of music books decreased as the century continued, beginning with Attaignant’s popularization of single-impression music printing in 1528. This cost decrease and convenience allowed

¹⁵⁵ Richard Wistreich, “Musical Materials and Cultural Spaces,” *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 1 (February 2012): 1.

¹⁵⁶ Kate van Orden, *Materialities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 27.

¹⁵⁷ “Music printing” during this century refers almost exclusively to polyphonic vocal music. Solo music, both for instrumentalists and singers, was not printed until the seventeenth century. Kate van Orden, “Introduction,” in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York: Garland, 2000), xv.

music printing to spread among most social classes, making the discipline more accessible than in previous centuries; Wistreich claims that “any reasonably skilled musician” could own printed music as long as they could pay for it, regardless of court or church association,¹⁵⁸ and van Orden claims that print featured an innate “lack of exclusivity.”¹⁵⁹ Thus, music prints served to define consumers as well as composers, through a material manifestation of social class. While the poorest members of society could not afford these books, many people, including the rising merchant class, could, and lighter, more singable genres such as chansons and madrigals dominated musical society. For example, Attaignant printed over two thousand different chansons for the Parisian public between 1528 and 1551.¹⁶⁰ Van Orden argues that this high volume of chanson and chansonnier production reveals that music books did not confine themselves to intellectual circles, but rather speaks to the “dime-a-dozen market” for these kinds of songs.¹⁶¹

The format of Renaissance music books indicates that these volumes served a utilitarian role as performance aids, rather than as independent objects of musical value. Partbook formatting, in which each vocal part in a piece was released as an individual “book,” dominated music prints. While sixteenth-century musicians could read these parts simultaneously, the ability would take a trained musician years to cultivate.¹⁶² Most consumers could only read their own part, indicating that these widespread publications,

¹⁵⁸ Wistreich, “Music Materials and Cultural Spaces,” 10.

¹⁵⁹ Van Orden, “Introduction,” xii.

¹⁶⁰ Van Orden, *Materialities*, 13.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 4-5.

appealing to both amateurs and professionals, were meant for social performance rather than study.¹⁶³ Van Orden claims that these partbooks indicate “a social dynamic in which multiple readers depended on each other for information.”¹⁶⁴ Laura Macy corroborates this idea, claiming that, in partbook singing, “each singer has his or her own part-no bar lines, no cues, nothing to help clue the behavior of the other voices: the singers must rely entirely on each other.”¹⁶⁵

To the Renaissance musician, music constituted an entertaining social activity. Accounts of score production corroborate van Orden’s depiction of music as an everyday, social enterprise that still relied primarily on auditory, rather than printed, elements. Full scores (as opposed to partbooks), which musicians and composers used for solo study, did not appear until the tail end of the sixteenth century and did not become popular until well into the seventeenth century, once again displaying the Renaissance conception of music as a performance-based activity. Even composers did not use score format during the first century of print, but composed in individual parts.¹⁶⁶ In a sense, this style of music making reflects the divided selfhood prevalent throughout this era; while the singers relied on each other for information, they also focused exclusively on their individual parts, revealing the emphasis on the self even as community remained necessary to the realization of a complete musical work.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 4-5.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 6.

¹⁶⁵ Laura Macy, “Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal,” *The Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 1 (Winter, 1996): 10.

¹⁶⁶ Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition, 1450 - 1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4-7.

Sixteenth-century print culture created a general hierarchy of musical works in their materiality. This hierarchy privileged sacred works over secular; masses constituted the most important and therefore largest books, followed by motets, and finally more popular genres such as chansons, frottole, and madrigals.¹⁶⁷ This hierarchy, in combination with music books' various formats (e.g., choirbook, partbook), languages, and typefaces, created a diverse repertory of volumes. Wistreich argues that, because of the variety of music books, concerns of materiality emerged in music more than in other disciplines.¹⁶⁸ Because music books could appear in a wide array of formats, each book revealed something specific about the music's function; a score would indicate that the work was serious and intended for close study, while a partbook format shows that the music was meant to be performed in a social context. Thus, music's materiality reflected its role in popular culture and its cultural status.

The awareness of music's newfound materiality in the sixteenth century directly relates to concerns of authorship; within this century, composers began to conceive of themselves as artists while print culture simultaneously developed.¹⁶⁹ This led to an interest in establishing authorship, both in music's oral and print cultures, and musicians constantly renegotiated their understandings of the printing industry in regard to their own authorship well into later centuries. For Lasso, a composer who concerned himself with nearly every aspect of his own print culture, this authorial concern caused a fixation with control over his works as represented in print.

¹⁶⁷ Van Orden, *Materialities*, 9.

¹⁶⁸ Wistreich, "Musical Materials and Cultural Spaces," 2.

¹⁶⁹ Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 16.

Drawing on a Foucauldian understanding of authorship, in which “author” comes with a level of authority constructed by the creator’s surroundings, van Orden argues that “author” signified a “writer of published books” during the late Renaissance and early Baroque eras.¹⁷⁰ However, this eventual cementation of authorship’s definition disregards the idea that in much of the sixteenth century, “an ‘author’ might still be the maker, creator, or originator of any variety of things.”¹⁷¹ The shifting ideas of authorship manifested themselves in print culture’s hierarchy of works. Sacred works, such as masses and motets, nearly always indicated attributed authors, whereas printers published more popular genres such as the chanson and madrigal without an authorial attribution throughout the century.¹⁷² This hierarchy of authorship meant that the vast majority of music books contained no authorial signification, since these vernacular, popular forms “were the mainstay of music printing as a commercial venture.”¹⁷³ As the sixteenth century progressed, particularly in its final decades, prominent composers such as Lasso began to assert their own authorship even in these vernacular pieces, foreshadowing the more comprehensive authorship of later centuries. Indeed, Lasso’s authorship remained important to publishers even when the composer himself did not play a role in the work’s publication, as evidenced by the Italian publications of Lasso’s madrigals in 1555, which further underlines his prominence with European musical life.

¹⁷⁰ Kate van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 2.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 16.

Paradoxically, composers often had to work *against* print culture in order to establish their authorship and authority in print; the industry's established traditions favored printer's rights over creators, musicians often lost partbooks which rendered works incomplete, and errors in printing distorted works from their original form. Printers acquired privileges, roughly analogous to the modern copyright system, from government authorities in the region, and they generally lasted for a period of 10 years. These permissions stated that the recipient held legal rights to the published content, in this case, a piece of music, until the privilege expired, at which point they could apply for a renewal.¹⁷⁴ Additionally, regional rights often overlapped with each other, creating bureaucratic confusion if printers disputed certain privileges.¹⁷⁵ Since these legal rights went to the publisher, not the work's composer, the composer could not publish the piece and risked legal penalty if they did not comply with the printing privilege. Therefore, the authority vested to an author over a work typically went to the publisher, rather than the creator, during the sixteenth century. Additionally, composers often expressed irritation at the many mistakes in printed versions of their works; Lasso once claimed that printing errors rendered his works unrecognizable from their original state.¹⁷⁶ While Lasso concerned himself with accuracy rather than the materiality of his prints, publishers often added ornate title pages or printed his privileges in full, thereby elevating the book itself and advertising Lasso's defining authorial role within it (fig. 3.1).¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Rebecca W. Oettinger, "Berg v. Gerlach: Printing and Lasso's Imperial Privilege of 1582," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 51, no. 1 (2004): 112.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁷⁶ Kate van Orden, "Josquin des Prez, Renaissance Historiography, and the Cultures of Print," in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 360.

¹⁷⁷ Oettinger, "Berg v. Gerlach," 116-17.



Figure 3.1: The title page of *Missa pro defunctis* as printed by Adam Berg, showing the elaborate decoration of Lasso prints during this time.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Siegfried Hermelink, ed., *Messen 24-26, Messen des Druckes München 1589*, vol. 6 of *Orlando di Lasso: Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1966), xxii.

Lasso's Self-Fashioning within Print Culture

Orlando di Lasso deliberately cultivated a dominant sense of authorship over his works and his public persona. Through a unique series of printing privileges and a lifelong concern for his works in print, Lasso created a status as a versatile composer throughout Europe and maintained a unique control of his work's dissemination throughout the continent. Musicologist James Haar claims that by the time of Lasso's death, "half of all the music prints in the second half of the sixteenth century contained works by Lasso."¹⁷⁹ Beginning with his first publication in 1555, Lasso displayed "a shrewd sense of self-promotion" that, while unparalleled by many of his contemporaries, forecasts the self-fashioning of composers in later years.¹⁸⁰ While Lasso, like many of his peers, expressed anxieties regarding print as described above, he was also one of the first composers who realized its unique potential as a market for creating his image, a market that he utilized extensively throughout his career.

Upon his arrival in Antwerp in late 1554, Lasso immediately began work on his first entrance into print culture, with a publication entitled *Le quatoirsiesme livre a quatre parties contenant dixhuict chansons italiennes, six chansons francoises, & six motetz faictz (a la nouvelle composition d-aucuns d'Italie)*, as I noted in chapter one.¹⁸¹ This collection featured a wide range of genres, thus highlighting his flexibility and skill. Though unknown in the city, the composer soon located patrons to fund his publications,

¹⁷⁹ James Haar, "Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate Van Orden (New York: Garland, 2000), 131.

¹⁸⁰ Haar, "Orlando di Lasso," 131.

¹⁸¹ Kristine Forney, "Orlando Di Lasso's 'Opus 1': The Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 39/40 (1985), 41.

including the Genoese merchant Stefano Gentile and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras and advisor to Charles V and Philip II.¹⁸² He also convinced Susato, the most important printer in the city, to halt production on his multi-volume motet collection, the *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum*, and publish his book instead, the first multi-genre book of Susato's output.¹⁸³ This ability to form connections with various persons of importance throughout the city displays Lasso's business acumen and charisma, which was unusual among composers of the time. Following an intense few months of composition, compilation, revisions, and editing, Lasso and Susato published *Le quatoirsiesme livre* in May of 1555.¹⁸⁴ Susato quickly reprinted the book in Italian, in order to appeal to the large Italian community of Antwerp, and re-released the volume two subsequent times in the next five years.¹⁸⁵ In the same year as the release of *Le quatoirsiesme livre*, Lasso's compositions appeared in a madrigal collection published in Venice and a villanelles collection in Rome.¹⁸⁶ Lasso played no direct role in these publications, likely because he did not wish to find another post within Italy and, at the time, was using print to secure a position; however, the authorial attribution to Lasso nonetheless reveals his importance.

Lasso's publication of a multi-genre volume as his first book of music indicates that he intended to use the book as a method to advertise himself to potential patrons and establish his personal brand.¹⁸⁷ This advertisement quickly came to fruition, and Susato

¹⁸² Forney, "Orlando Di Lasso's 'Opus 1,'" 37.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 41.

¹⁸⁴ In keeping with the trend of the era, Susato released the volume in partbooks. Ibid., 49.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 43-9.

¹⁸⁶ Haar, "Orlando di Lasso," 130.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 131.

exported the book to Spain and France by the next year.¹⁸⁸ Also in 1556, Lasso secured a post working in the Bavarian court, a position which he held for the remainder of his life and in which he crafted his pious persona as described in chapter two.

Following the success of *Le quatoirsiesme livre*, Lasso continued to exercise his authorial control over his printed works in an increasingly innovative way. Because of the popularity of his music in France, Lasso obtained a privilege from Charles IX in 1571, which gave the composer the right to determine who, if anyone, published his works within the country.¹⁸⁹ King Henry III renewed the privilege in 1582, just before it was set to expire. Before giving this privilege to Lasso, the French government had never granted legal, authorial rights to a musician, and they only did so sparingly after, establishing Lasso as the first composer to gain these rights over his own music.¹⁹⁰ Soon after receiving this privilege from the French king, Lasso began negotiations to acquire similar rights within the Holy Roman Empire, his place of residence. In 1581, Emperor Rudolph II granted his request, stating that no printer, past, present, or future, could print Lasso's works without his express permission.¹⁹¹

This cultivation of authorial rights represents their importance to Lasso, further highlighting his developed sense of dual selfhood. Furthermore, it was Lasso's status as a crucial figure to Bavarian musical life that allowed him to gain these privileges, particularly within the Holy Roman Empire, where his patrons appealed to the Emperor on his behalf. His high position within the court also provided him with the opportunity

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 131.

¹⁸⁹ Oettinger, "Berg v. Gerlach," 114.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 115 and Haar, "Orlando di Lasso."

¹⁹¹ Oettinger, "Berg v. Gerlach," 117.

for international travel, including extended stays in France where he cultivated relationships with the French monarchy and nobility, as well as his preferred Parisian printing firm Le Roy et Ballard.¹⁹² In order to balance his Parisian and Bavarian work, Lasso used his printed dedications. Even while publishing in France, the composer dedicated key works to his ducal patrons, thus introducing Bavaria's Counter-Reformation musical culture to Paris, serving Bavarian goals while furthering his cosmopolitan image.¹⁹³

Aside from his legal authorship, Lasso also used his prints to form his self-image. Lasso's lifelong effort to control his printed music revealed his concerns for accuracy and his desire for concrete authorial control, but also, as Haar argues, his ongoing concern "for his present and future reputation as an artist."¹⁹⁴ His control over his music as represented in print, therefore, demonstrates his participation in Renaissance trends of self-fashioning as defined by Greenblatt and McClary. When viewed in tandem with his Bavarian persona, this control exemplifies the divided sense of self prominent throughout the sixteenth-century, as early modern ideas of the self began to crystallize for the first time.

In addition to his control of print culture, Lasso also sought to control performances of his music, as detailed by William Mahrt. Known for his dictatorial nature in rehearsals, Lasso proved exceedingly strict when conducting performances of his own works, further revealing a concern for accuracy in order to maintain his work's integrity.¹⁹⁵ Mahrt also

¹⁹² Oettinger, "Berg v. Gerlach," 114.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 115-16.

¹⁹⁴ Haar, "Orlando di Lasso," 142.

¹⁹⁵ William Mahrt, "Lasso as Mannerist," *Sacred Music* 134, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 41.

claims that Lasso took intense care with the correctness of his pieces as printed, particularly when he would not be conducting, in order to ensure that the work would be heard as he intended it.¹⁹⁶ These behaviors regarding musical performance and print accuracy further demonstrate Lasso's concern for crafting his versatile, entrepreneurial persona.

Several aspects of Lasso's cosmopolitan persona indicate the a-religiosity that Lasso scholarship often states but rarely develops or defends. In part, his extensive cultivation and control of his persona generally indicates that Lasso preferred for this versatile, irreligious image to be spread throughout the Continent. Further, his personal relationships with known Protestants, and various musical compositions, reveal explicitly "heretical" behavior antithetical to Lasso as he was known in Munich. One such example is Lasso's professional relationship with his Munich printer, Berg. Though Berg printed anti-Reformation writings frequently, he followed Lutheranism.¹⁹⁷ Berg's faith was an open secret; while he printed Counter-Reformation material for the Wittelsbachs, the printer was imprisoned twice for his Protestant faith.¹⁹⁸ Despite this scandal, however, Lasso cultivated a decades-long relationship with Berg, who allowed Lasso to proofread his own publications, thus ensuring his works' correctness.¹⁹⁹ The composer's relationship with his printer despite Berg's Lutheran ideals reveals that the composer remained indifferent to his colleague's religion, and instead maintained a partnership with Berg because of his high standards in music printing. Berg's precision allowed for Lasso

¹⁹⁶ Mahrt, "Lasso as Mannerist," 41.

¹⁹⁷ Oettinger, "Berg v. Gerlach," 118.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

to ensure that his music, and, by extension, his overall reputation, would spread throughout the Continent correctly as per his own specifications.

Lasso's music, however, also includes some of the most striking examples of his resistance to the Counter-Reformation, and also displays the stylistic versatility promoted by the composer throughout his lifetime. He broke with the Church's preferences throughout his career, as evidenced by his works' presence on the Jesuit College's list of banned music; the motets *Fertur in conviviiis* (1564) and *Anna, mihi dilecta* (1579) provide examples of Lasso's blatant disregard for post-Tridentine musical ideals. With these less devout works, Lasso ensured his widespread appeal throughout Europe, both in Protestant and Catholic regions alike. While many of these internationally popular works remained religious, Lasso's rejection of Tridentine musical ideals reveals that, in direct contrast to his Bavarian image, he did not entirely subscribe to the Counter-Reformation ideologies promoted throughout Bavaria.

Anna, mihi dilecta constitutes one of Lasso's mannerist, chromatic, and highly innovative works, which was seemingly antithetical to the preferred post-Tridentine musical style. Mahrt states that this piece represents a model of "the self-consciousness of mannerism," tying into Lasso's own self-conscious styling of himself and his work.²⁰⁰ The pitch content of this work was radical even within Lasso's typical mannerist style. As Crook states,

Lasso confines his music to a clearly delineated set of pitches . . . for compositions in the *cantus mollis* system with a one-flat signature, [these pitches are] E-flat, B-flat, F, C, G, D, A, E, B, F#, and C#. Two of the very rare

²⁰⁰ Mahrt, "Lasso as Mannerist," 41.

excursions beyond this normative compass occur in the first fourteen measures of “Anna, mihi dilecta.”²⁰¹

However, despite this experimentation, not all versions of this piece were banned; Lasso’s sons published this work following his death with a new text, and this version was allowed.²⁰² The revised version of *Anna, mihi dilecta* redirects the narrator’s erotic love into spiritual love for God.²⁰³ The fact that the reworked motet, titled *Christe dei soboles*, remained permissible indicates that the original, provocative text (see below) proved more problematic than Lasso’s radical, mannerist musical setting, and showcases the discrepancies at work in post-Tridentine musical reform.

Anna, mihi dilecta, veni, mea sola voluptas,
nectareus stillat cujus ab ore liquor,
nympha, mihi dare basiolum digneris, in omni
altera te nulla est charior orbe mihi.

Anna, my beloved, come, my only delight,
from whose mouth honeyed essence distills,
nymph, may you deign to give me a little kiss,
in the whole world no one else is dearer to me.

Acipe daque mihi pro votis oscula, faxint
numina, sic semper mutuus adsit amor,
nec nisi sola quibus restinguat adurimur ignes
Atropos, atque tibi sola placer queam.

Receive and give me kisses in return for my
prayers
that the gods cause our mutual love thus
always to be present,
and let Atropos alone quench the fires with
which we burn,
and-her alone-whereby I can please you.²⁰⁴

In addition to the text’s explicit sexuality, it also includes a double acrostic, with the first letter of each line forming the word “Anna” twice before the piece’s conclusion.²⁰⁵

With this controversial, sensual text in mind, Lasso’s use of chromaticism aurally serves to highlight the eroticism of both specific words and the text overall, which is

²⁰¹ The A-flat in m. 5 in the cantus and the D# in m. 14 in the altus voice are the “excursions” to which Crook refers. David Crook, “A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, no. 1 (2009): 25.

²⁰² Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 25-27.

²⁰³ Ibid., 25-27.

²⁰⁴ Orlando di Lasso and Peter Bergquist, ed, *The Complete Motets* vol. 18 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1995), xxxiii-xxxiv.

²⁰⁵ Mahrt, “Lasso as Mannerist,” 41.

perhaps why the Jesuits banned only this version of the motet. Radical chromaticism occurs immediately, beginning at the conclusion of the first phrase on the word “veni [come]” (fig. 3.2). As the voices reach the final syllable of the phrase, the cantus voice comes to rest on a striking A-flat (m. 5). This example is one of only three times Lasso uses this pitch in all of his 516 motets, indicating the piece’s difference from the rest of his output almost instantaneously.²⁰⁶

He also uses chromaticism on individual words to highlight their intimate, erotic meaning. For example, Lasso sets the word “nympha [nymph]” homophonically on an E major chord in an uncommon triadic moment, drawing attention to the happiness that Anna brings to the piece’s narrator (fig. 3.3, mm. 15-16). On the word “basiolum [little kiss],” the alto voice slides from an F# down to an F (fig. 3.3, mm. 20-21). This half-step motion, occurring soon after the statement of the “nympha” major chord, emphasizes the word “kiss,” which, in the context of the full poem, hints at a more involved, sexually intimate relationship. In addition to this sexual imagery, the speaker turns to the gods for prayer; gods in the plural, rather than God, harkens back to non-Christian traditions, as does the text’s mention of Atropos, one of the Greek Fates, further heightening the subversion of the poem. This stanza is accompanied by another example of Lasso’s dramatic chromaticism, including E-flat, B-flat and B natural, F#, G#, and C# (mm. 49-51). Overall, Lasso’s musical chromaticism in *Anna, mihi dilecta* provides a striking example his mannerist style. When accompanying worldly love, this setting proved inappropriate in the eyes of the Jesuits; however, Lasso’s powerful music was rendered

²⁰⁶ Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 25.

The image displays a musical score for the opening 9 measures of the motet "Anna, mihi dilecta" by Heinrich Lasso. The score is written for four voices: Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The first system contains measures 1 through 4, and the second system contains measures 5 through 8. The lyrics are: "An-na, mi-hi di-le-cta, ve-ni, me-a so-la vo-lu-ptas, ne-". In measure 5, the Cantus part features a rare A-flat, which is highlighted in the original image. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time.

Figure 3.2: The opening 9 measures of *Anna, mihi dilecta*, showing the rare A-flat in m. 5.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ Lasso and Bergquist, ed., *Complete Motets* vol. 18, 295.

15

nym-pha, (nym-pha,) mi-hi da-

nym-pha, (nym-pha,) mi-hi da-re ba-si-o-

nym-pha, (nym-pha,) mi-hi da-re ba-

nym-pha, (nym-pha,) mi-hi da-re ba-

21

-re ba-si-o-lum di-gne-ris, in om-ni al-te-

-lum di-gne-ris, in om-ni

-si-o-lum di-gne-ris, in om-ni

-si-o-lum di-gne-ris, in om-ni

Figure 3.3: Mm. 15-25 of *Anna, mihi dilecta*, showing the E-major chord accompanying “nympha” in mm. 15-16 and the half-step motion in the altus voice.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Lasso and Bergquist, ed., *Complete Motets* vol. 18, 296.

“appropriate” when it served to heighten the speaker’s love for Christ, as it does in the revised version of the piece.

Anna, mihi dilecta also reveals Lasso’s concern with construction, both of his persona and of his pieces. The double acrostic formed by the text displays his intentional inclusion of a puzzle for the audience, and, accompanied by his mannerist setting, reveals a self-awareness in the setting of the piece. Furthermore, the text reveals another layer of complexity. The erotic text of the poem parallels much of the imagery found in the Song of Songs through similar wordings and descriptions. While not an exact quotation, the Song was well known enough for the connection to present itself without a direct quote, and the double meaning of the words reinforces Lasso’s status as a versatile, worldly composer.

Fertur in conviviis stands as one of the most dramatic examples of Lasso’s defiance of Tridentine musical thought. Unlike *Anna, mihi dilecta*, the Jesuits banned all versions of this work due to the composer’s mocking musical setting.²⁰⁹ Lasso styled this work as a Latin motet, but the heretical statements in the text, as well as their combination with a prominent Gregorian chant from the Requiem mass, often caused printers such as the Parisian Le Roy et Ballard firm to place the work among secular chansons.²¹⁰ The text places the narrator’s love of the tavern over their love of the Church, explicitly placing religion below a popular vice (see the full text of the poem below). While many versions of the text exist, including versions that recast the text as completely in line with Church

²⁰⁹ Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 28.

²¹⁰ Bernhold Schmid, “Lasso’s “*Fertur in conviviis*”: On the History of its Text and Transmission,” in *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 116.

ideals, the version known in Munich was the primary controversial version of the text,²¹¹ and originates from *Carmina Burana*, a German medieval manuscript of over 200 satirical poems.²¹² *Fertur in conviviis* thus employs a well-known drinking song text. It is rendered additionally controversial in that Lasso's musical setting sets the text to chants from the Introit of the Requiem mass, which Church officials viewed as heretical and insulting; he also challenges the Church by explicitly adding the liturgical requiem text into the conclusion of the work.

Fertur in conviviis vinus, vina, vinum;
masculinum displicet atque foemininum,
sed in neutron genere vinum est divinum.
Loqui facit clericum optimum latinum.

Volo inter omnia vinum pertransire.
Vinum facit vetulas leviter salire
et ditiescit pauperes, claudos facit ire,
mutis dat eloquium, surdisque audire.

Potatores inclyti semper sunt begini,
tam senes quam juvenes. In aeterno igni
cruciantur rustici qui non sunt tam digni
ut gustare valeant boni haustum vini.

Meum est propositum in taberna mori
et vinum apponere sitientiori,
ut decant cum venerint angelorum chori,

Deus sit propitius huic potatori.

Et plus quam ecclesiam diligo tabernum,
illum nullo tempore spreui neque spernam,
donec sanctos angelos venientes cernam
cantantes pro ebriis, "Requiem aeternam."

At banquets is served he-wine, she-wine, it-
wine;
the masculine displeases, also the feminine,
but in the neuter gender wine is divine.
It makes the clerics speak in the best Latin.

I want wine to be everywhere.
Wine makes the old women jump agilely,
and it makes paupers grow rich, the lame
walk,
it gives the mute eloquence and makes the
deaf hear.

Celebrated drinkers are always benign,
the old as well as the young. In the eternal
fire
are tortured the boors who are not so worthy
that they deserve to take a swallow of good
wine.

My intention is to die in the tavern
and serve the wine to a thirstier one,
so that when they angel choirs come they
may say,
God be gracious to this drinker.

And more than the church I love the tavern,
at no time have I spurned nor will I spurn it,
until I see the holy angels coming
singing for the drunkards, "Requiem
aeternam."²¹³

²¹¹ Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 28-29.

²¹² Schmid, "Lasso's 'Fertur in conviviis,'" 124.

²¹³ Crook, "Sixteenth-Century Catalog," 28-29.

In addition to the explicit worship of drinking over God and the Church, the poetry of *Fertur in conviviis* draws parallels between the miracles of Jesus as represented in the Bible and the miraculous powers of wine. In the second stanza, the speaker of the text claims: “I want wine to be everywhere. Wine makes the old women jump agilely, and it makes paupers grow rich, the lame walk, it gives the mute eloquence and makes the deaf hear.”²¹⁴ It also implies that drinking can enhance clergymen: “But in the neuter gender wine is divine. It makes the clerics speak in the best Latin.”²¹⁵ The piece concludes with the most explicit example of defiance against the Church as the speaker states: “And more than the church I love the tavern, at no time have I spurned nor will I spurn it, until I see the holy angels coming singing for the drunkards, “Requiem aeternam.””²¹⁶ Here, Lasso both mocks text taken directly from the Requiem mass--the same mass that he so reverently set in *Missa pro defunctis*--and explicitly states a preference for alcohol and the life of the tavern over the church. As the text intones these words of the Requiem mass, the bass voice evokes the opening of the Mass’s Gregorian chant melody in long, extended notes, while the upper voices paraphrase the same melody in what Crook dubs a “mock-liturgical style” (mm. 104-105 in fig. 3.4).²¹⁷ This quotation of the Requiem is visually prominent as well, both in the modern edition of the score and in the bass partbook shown below (fig. 3.5). The piece’s musical setting evokes the sonic qualities of traditional church music, even while the text directly contradicts Christian ideals, and the work reveals Lasso’s religious resistance via his musical setting of heretical ideas.

²¹⁴ Crook, “Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 29.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

Figure 3.4: The final page of *Fertur in conviviis*.
The plainchant appears in the bass voice in mm. 104-105.²¹⁸

77

90

10. BASSVS A 4.

Ertur in cōuiujs Vinus Vina Vinū masculinū displicet atq; fæmininū Sed in neutro genere Vi-
 num est diuinum loqui facit clericū optimū lati num volo inter omnia Vinum pertransire Vinum facit Vetu-
 las leuiter salire & dicescit pauperes claudos facit ire mutis dat eloquium surdisq; audire, Potatores
 incli ti semper sunt benigni tā senes quā iuuenes in æterno ingni cruciantur rustici Ut gustare Vale-
 ant boni haustum vini % Meum est propositum in taberna mori & Vinum apponere

lib. 4. BASSVS A 4.

sitienti ori Ut dicant cum Venerint angelorū chori Deus sit propitius huic potato ri diligo, dili-
 go tabernam diligo tabernā, illam nullo tempore spreui neq; Spera Donec sanctos angelos veni-
 entes cernā cantātes, pro Ebrjjs Requiem æternam % % æter nam.

Figure 3.5: A partbook print of the bassus voice of *Fertur in conviviis*. The plainchant intonation of “requiem æternam” is visible in the final line of the print, as the rhythms of the bass voice slow leading into the chant intonation.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Orlando di Lasso, *Quatriesme livre des chansons a quatre et cinq parties nouvellement, composees par Orlando di Lassus, convenables tant aux instruments comme à la voix*. Bassus, (Louvain: Pere Phalèse, 1564), 10-11. Accessed via imslp.org: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Chansons_a_4_et_5_parties%2C_LV_1564.3_\(Lassus%2C_Orlande_de\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Chansons_a_4_et_5_parties%2C_LV_1564.3_(Lassus%2C_Orlande_de)).

When viewed alongside *Missa pro defunctis*, *Fertur in conviviis* presents a striking example of the direct conflict that often occurred between Lasso's dual selves through their uses of the Requiem mass. In both works, Lasso places the "Requiem" statement in the bass voice, after which the remaining voices enter; however, this placement of the chant into the bass voices constitutes one of the only similarities between the two pieces. *Missa pro defunctis* uses the chant to add a sense of historical reverence to the piece, while *Fertur in conviviis* blatantly mocks Church tradition throughout. Lasso's incorporation of the Requiem plainchant into the motet functions comedically, halting the progress of the piece in order to draw attention to the chant, followed by a musical setting that further serves to mock traditional Catholic masses. Meanwhile, *Missa pro defunctis* deferentially harkens back to centuries of precedent.

Conclusion

As is apparent in my analyses of his works, Lasso created an image of compositional versatility through his use of mannerist techniques and his frequent breaks with Counter-Reformation musical ideals. He expanded this cosmopolitan persona through his unique control of Renaissance print culture, particularly in France and the Holy Roman Empire, as well as through his professional relationships. In stark contrast to Lasso's Bavarian identity, the Lasso known throughout Europe as entrepreneurial, international, and prolific often ignored, or blatantly went against, the religious creeds of his city and patrons in favor of cultivating his reputation. This persona helped Lasso to gain his position in Munich, starting with the marketing of his first music book in 1555, and simultaneously relied upon his lifelong privileged position within Bavaria. In this way,

Lasso represents the divided sense of selfhood that grew prominent during the sixteenth century, before individualism's crystallization in the early modern period.

CHAPTER FOUR

SYNTHESIZING THE SELF

Orlando di Lasso remains understudied within the Anglo-American musicological scholarship, a fact that this thesis aims to correct. Through a careful examination of Lasso's music, control of print culture, and personal relationships, I determine that the composer extensively cultivated two distinct personas which, though they rely on each other for survival, often contradict each other. One of these personas related directly to his position at the Bavarian court, where Lasso stood as a crucial figure in the state's highly propagandized Counter-Reformation campaign. The other almost disregards this religious zeal, instead focusing on marketability, versatility, and reputation. When considering Lasso in terms of Renaissance conceptions of the self, however, these personas stand not as an anomaly, but as exemplary of the trends of thinking and self-consciousness that developed during the sixteenth century.

The framing for my primary argument has drawn from Susan McClary and Stephen Greenblatt in my approach to Renaissance selfhood.²²⁰ However, my studies of Lasso represent the first time these approaches have been applied to this composer, rendering my use of this frame unique. Further, I recognize Jeremy Smith's discussion of William Byrd as a model for selfhood and self-fashioning scholarship in composers. Much like Lasso, Byrd used his printing monopoly within England to propagandize

²²⁰ Additional discussions of Renaissance selfhood and self-fashioning appear in John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) and Roy Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1997), among others.

himself in multiple ways, both through printing elaborate, high art pieces and by using the industry as a method to appeal to clandestine Catholics throughout the country.²²¹ In a similar manner, Lasso used print both to enhance his pious image within Bavaria, and also to promote his versatility to Protestants and Catholics alike throughout Continental Europe.

Chapter two established Lasso's Bavarian, devout persona and the ways in which he worked within Bavarian Counter-Reformation culture in order to establish this image. I outlined the policies of the Bavarian state and Lasso's role within those policies and overall culture. Led by Albrecht and Wilhelm V, the Bavarian ducal government partnered with the local Jesuit college to create a culture of Roman Catholicism within their domain. By aligning themselves closely with Rome and censoring Protestant books and art, the state ensured Catholic cultural domination. Furthermore, the ducal government and Jesuit college established architectural and sonic domination through the construction of new church buildings (including St. Michaels, the college itself, and others) and loud processions, allowing the Church to become a chief sensory force for Munich's citizens. Through these reforms and policies, Bavarian officials cemented the region as the primary Catholic stronghold outside of Italy, reflecting their state-fashioning campaign to establish themselves as the northern image of Catholicism. Within this strongly pro-Catholic culture, Lasso cultivated a devout reputation that

²²¹ For a further discussion of Byrd's use of print and self-fashioning please see Sean Burton, "Sacred and Political Duality: An Analysis of Selected Motets from William Byrd's *Gradualia*," *The Choral Journal* 47, no. 6 (2006): 6-20 and Joseph Kerman, "William Byrd: Catholic and Careerist," *Sacred Music*, 135, no. 3 (2008): 12-19.

furthered these reforms through his own involvement with the local Jesuit college, his pious pieces, and his travel in service of his ducal patrons. My musical analysis of *Missa pro defunctis* and *Locutus in sum lingua mea* reinforces this image, as these pieces display a harkening back to old Church traditions and an alignment with post-Tridentine musical desires.

Chapter three cemented Lasso's dual conception of his own selfhood, with an examination of his cosmopolitan, versatile persona. Lasso used the print culture of the Renaissance to propagandize himself and his works throughout continental Europe, thus solidifying this image. Additionally, his personal relationships with known Protestants such as Berg, as well as his banned, occasionally heretical, musical works, further establishes this dual persona even while much of this self relied on the status and privilege of his Bavarian image. The mannerist and erotic motet *Anna, mihi dilecta* displays the stylistic versatility that Lasso promoted throughout his career, and the work's status as a banned piece by the Jesuits highlights his lack of consideration for official Church wishes. Furthermore, the blatant heresy of *Fertur in convivis*, with its mocking of Church tradition, demonstrates an explicit disregard for the Church, in sharp contrast to his pious persona. Overall, I argue that Lasso's careful cultivation of both his pious and cosmopolitan persona reveal a deliberate effort to create this dual image, as he both went above and beyond the call of duty for his Bavarian patrons, and engaged with his publications and with print culture in an uncommonly involved manner.

Following Lasso's death, the majority of his works fell out of use, and remained largely inaccessible in print until the publication of his collected works following World

War II.²²² Lasso's sons published *Magnum opus musicum*, a collection of over 500 of the composer's motets, in 1604, but this was the last major Lasso print until his collected works appeared.²²³ This lack of print accessibility is ironic considering the preponderance of Lasso prints that existed during his lifetime, and his own emphasis on these prints as extensions of himself; examining the subsequent dearth of these materials presents an opportunity for further scholarship. However, there are several reasons to explain this downturn of prints. As Thomas Brady describes, German print houses declined in number following an attempt on behalf of the Holy Roman Empire to limit prints to large capital cities; this occurred in 1570 and did not take immediate effect, which is perhaps why Lasso himself did not have to deal with this issue.²²⁴ Furthermore, it seems likely that the devastating effects of the Thirty Years' War, including a massive loss of life, handicapped German printing considerably.²²⁵

Within current musicological teachings, Lasso is remembered as either a mannerist *or* a Counter-Reformation, sacred composer; very few studies, if any, seem to account for the two sides of the composer that I lay out in this thesis. This situation is particularly evident in musicology textbooks. Volumes such as Allan Atlas's *Renaissance Music*²²⁶ and Craig Wright and Bryan Simms's *Music in Western Civilization*²²⁷ present

²²² Peter Bergquist, ed., *Orlando di Lasso Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), vii.

²²³ Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music, Music in Western Europe, 1400-1600* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 625.

²²⁴ Thomas Brady, *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 27.

²²⁵ For a detailed description of the Thirty Years War and its effects, see Brady, *German Histories*, 375-405.

²²⁶ Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 624-34.

²²⁷ Craig Wright and Bryan Simms, *Music in Western Civilization* (Boston: Schirmer Cengage Learning, 2010), 209-11.

him as a religiously oriented practitioner of Counter-Reformation composition. On the other hand, Richard Taruskin and Christopher H. Gibbs' *The Oxford History of Western Music*²²⁸ and J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca's *A History of Western Music*²²⁹ focus on his cosmopolitanism and stylistic versatility. In contrast to this method of teaching Lasso as one dimensional, I advocate for a more holistic approach that examines both of his personas.

This study provides a unique way of studying the composer by viewing both his works and the man himself from a socio-cultural and literary lens; my interdisciplinary approach to Lasso opens up new methods and areas of study for this composer as well as Renaissance composers overall. It also offers a new way of thinking about Renaissance print culture.²³⁰ In addition to viewing print as a new, transformative, and often difficult-to-control industry, I look at it as a form of personal expression and self-propaganda. Both Lasso and Byrd propagandized themselves, particularly their religious beliefs, through their control of their works in print. This idea expands to their predecessors and contemporaries including Josquin des Prez, Thomas Tallis, and Giovanni Palestrina, among others.²³¹ Additional studies along these lines offer avenues for further research.

²²⁸ Richard Taruskin and Christopher H. Gibbs, *The Oxford History of Western Music, College Edition*, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 178-80.

²²⁹ J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, tenth edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019), 223.

²³⁰ In addition to sources already cited in this thesis, further discussions of Renaissance print and propaganda include Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp, *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

²³¹ Scholarship dealing with Josquin's selfhood is well-established and includes the following sources: Jesse Rodin, "When Josquin Became Josquin," *Acta Musicologica* no. 81, no. 1 (2009): 23-38; Kate van Orden, "Josquin des Prez, Renaissance Historiography, and the Cultures of Print," in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher, 354-80 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Throughout the course of this study, I have often discussed Catholic musical censorship; this censorship, while far-reaching, was not strictly binary, but rather presents contradictions. Not all sacred works were approved, just as not all secular works were banned. For example, the banned works studied in this thesis, *Anna, mihi dilecta* and *Fertur in conviviis*, are both Latin motets, a sacred genre. However, Bavarian church officials found them offensive and thus censored them from Bavarian musical life. Even masses could be banned, further showing this lack of a strict dichotomy; Lasso's own *Missa "Qual donna attende"* appeared on the Jesuit's list of banned music. Meanwhile, many of his madrigals and chansons escaped censure. This inconsistency corroborates both Crook and Monson's claim that, while the Council of Trent addressed music, they largely left musical reform to individual regions, resulting in irregularities and reflecting local interests.²³² It also demonstrates that censorship or approval could result from textual concerns, musical concerns, or a combination of the two; while both were considered, they were not always weighed equally.

Overall, I also advocate for an increasingly interdisciplinary method of study for the Renaissance era. I believe that, within Renaissance studies, interdisciplinary work proves vital. In a time when human mindsets, institutions, and religions changed so drastically in such a rapid fashion, considering interconnections between politics, religions, the arts, and rising technological industries is essential. Much as with studies of modernity, Renaissance people and institutions did not exist independently, and studying their interconnectedness provides us with a more complete understanding of the era. This

²³² David Crook, "A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, no. 1 (2009): 1-78.

style of scholarship is particularly crucial to the Renaissance, as it serves as the gateway between the medieval era and what we now see as modernity, and is where many modern ways of thinking, nations and institutions first appeared. I consider interrelationships between print, state propaganda, and selfhood as they apply to Renaissance artists, and musicians in particular, in ways that engage both musicological approaches and Renaissance studies overall. This thesis provides a compelling interdisciplinary model with wide-ranging implications for scholarship of the Renaissance.

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VITA

Tara Jordan holds a Bachelor of Music degree from Furman University. In May of 2019, she graduated with a Master of Music degree in Musicology from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where she completed her thesis under the advisement of Dr. Rachel Golden. In addition to her interest in Renaissance polyphony, Tara is also interested in music's role in state formation, reception history studies, and music as a form of protest and identity. She has presented papers at regional meetings of the American Musicological Society, the University of Cincinnati--College Conservatory of Music, and the Newberry Library in Chicago, IL. Tara will begin attending the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill in the fall of 2019 to complete her Ph.D. in Musicology.